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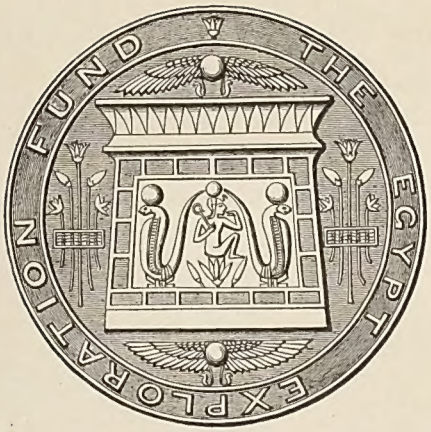
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART IV

GRENFELL AND HUNT


THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART IV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

All the theological and most of the classical and the non-literary papyri in this volume were discovered in our second excavations at Oxyrhynchus in 1903, described in the *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1902–3, pp. 5–9, and more briefly in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, III. pp. 139–40. The rest came from the original Oxyrhynchus find of 1897. Owing to the comparatively small space here available for non-literary documents and the discovery in 1903 of a group of papyri, mostly of the early Augustan period, which is rarely represented, we have published all these together with a selection of documents belonging to the next three centuries, instead of limiting the documents to the third century, as foreshadowed in the preface to Part III.

In editing the classical pieces, we have, as usual, availed ourselves largely of the most generous and valuable assistance of Professor Blass, to whom is due much of the reconstruction and interpretation of the new classical fragments and the identification of several of those from extant authors. The help which we have received on particular points from other scholars is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri.

In the Appendices we give a list of addenda and corrigenda to the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II, and *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, a revised text of Part III, no. **405**, which has been identified as a fragment of Irenaeus, and a list of all the Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm papyri which have already been distributed among different museums and libraries.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

Oxford,
April, 1904.

mt 9-1-60

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface v
List of Plates vii
Table of Papyri viii
Note on the Method of Publication and List of Abbreviations xi

TEXTS

I. Theological Fragments (654–658) 1
II. New Classical Fragments (659–684) 50
III. Fragments of Extant Classical Authors (685–704) 132
IV. Documents; chiefly of the Roman Period:
(*a*) Official (705–712) 162
(*b*) Applications to Officials (713–716) 180
(*c*) Petitions (717–720) 189
(*d*) Contracts (721–731) 197
(*e*) Receipts (732–734) 224
(*f*) Accounts (735–741) 227
(*g*) Private Correspondence (742–747) 241
V. Collations of Homeric Fragments (748–783) 248
VI. Descriptions of Miscellaneous Documents (784–839) 253

APPENDICES

I. Addenda and Corrigenda to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II, and *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* 260
II. A Revised Text of Part III, no. 405 (Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, iii. 9) 264
III. List of Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm Papyri distributed 265

INDICES

I. New Literary Fragments 272
II. Kings and Emperors 282
III. Months and Days 283
IV. Personal Names 284
V. Geographical 288

PAGE

VI. Religion 290
VII. Official and Military Terms 291
VIII. Weights, Measures, and Coins 292
IX. Taxes 293
X. General Index of Greek and Latin Words 294

LIST OF PLATES

I. **654, 665** . . . . . .
II. **655, 656** (*c*) verso . . . . . .
III. **659** (Cols. i–ii and Frs. (*a*)–(*l*)) . . . . . .
IV. **659** (Cols. iii–v and Frs. (*m*)–(*r*)) . . . . . .
V. **661, 735** . . . . . .
VI. **668** (Col. viii) . . . . . .
VII. **686, 687, 688, 720** . . . . . .
VIII. **737** (Col. i) . . . . . .

} *at the end.*

TABLE OF PAPYRI

		A. D.	PAGE
654.	New Sayings of Jesus (Plate I)	3rd cent.	1
655.	Fragment of a Lost Gospel (Plate II)	3rd cent.	22
656.	Genesis (Plate II)	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	28
657.	Epistle to the Hebrews	Early 4th cent.	36
658.	Certificate of Pagan Sacrifice	250	49
659.	Pindar Παρθένειον and Ode (Plates III and IV)	Late 1st cent. B.C.	50
660.	Paean	Late 1st or early 2nd cent.	61
661.	Epodes (Plate V)	Late 2nd cent.	62
662.	Epigrams	About A.D. 1	64
663.	Argument of Cratinus' Διονυσαλέξανδρος	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	69
664.	Philosophical Dialogue	3rd cent.	72
665.	History of Sicily (Plate I)	2nd cent.	80
666.	Aristotle, Προτρεπτικός	2nd cent.	82
667.	Aristoxenus ?	3rd cent.	86
668.	Epitome of Livy xxxvii–xl and xlviii–lv (Latin) (Plate VI)	3rd cent.	90
669.	Metrological Work	Early 4th cent.	116
670–678.	Poetical Fragments	1st–3rd cent.	121
679–684.	Prose Fragments	1st cent. B.C.–3rd cent.	127
685.	Homer *Iliad* xvii	2nd cent.	132
686–688.	Homer *Iliad* ii, iii, and xi (Plate VII)	About A.D. 1	133
689.	Hesiod *Scutum*	Late 2nd cent.	135
690–691.	Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* iii	3rd–2nd cent.	136
692.	Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* iv	2nd cent.	137
693.	Sophocles *Electra*	Early 3rd cent.	138
694.	Theocritus *Idyl* xiii	2nd cent.	139
695.	Herodotus v	3rd cent.	140
696.	Thucydides iv	1st cent.	141
697.	Xenophon *Cyropaedia* i	Early 3rd cent.	146
698.	Xenophon *Cyropaedia* i	Early 3rd cent.	154
699.	Theophrastus *Characters*	Early 3rd cent.	155

		A.D.	PAGE
700.	Demosthenes *De Corona*	2nd cent.	156
701.	Demosthenes *Contra Timocratem*	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	158
702.	Demosthenes *Contra Boeotum*	2nd cent.	159
703.	Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem*	3rd cent.	160
704.	Isocrates *Contra Sophistas*	3rd cent.	161
705.	Two Petitions to the Emperors with Replies	200–2	162
706.	Report of Legal Proceedings	About 115	168
707.	Report of Legal Proceedings	About 136	169
708.	Two Letters to a Strategus	188	172
709.	Tour of Inspection	About 50	174
710.	Order for Payment	B.C. 111	175
711.	Census-List	About B.C. 14	176
712.	Collection of a Debt	Late 2nd cent.	177
713.	Claim of Ownership	97	180
714.	Selection of Boys (ἐπίκρισις)	122	183
715.	Registration of Property	131	184
716.	Auction of a Slave	186	186
717.	Petition	Late 1st cent. B.C.	189
718.	Petition to the Epistrategus	180–192	190
719.	Registration of a Deed	193	192
720.	Request for a Guardian (Latin) (Plate VII)	247	196
721.	Sale of Crown Land	13–14	197
722.	Emancipation of a Slave	91 or 107	199
	Papyrus Edmondstone	354	202
723.	Emancipation of a Slave	138–161	203
724.	Apprenticeship to a Shorthand-Writer	155	204
725.	Apprenticeship to a Weaver	183	206
726.	Appointment of a Representative	135	209
727.	Delegation of the Duties of a Guardian	154	210
728.	Sale of a Crop	142	212
729.	Lease of a Vineyard	137	214
730.	Lease of Domain Land	130	221
731.	Engagement of Services	8–9	223
732.	Receipt for the Tax on Ferry-boats	150	224
733.	Tax-Receipt	147	225
734.	Tax-Receipt	165	226
735.	Graeco-Latin Military Account (Plate V)	205	227
736.	Private Account	About A.D. 1	228
737.	Latin Account (Plate VIII)	About A.D. 1	233
738.	Account of Food	About A.D. 1	234

		A.D.	PAGE
739.	Private Account	About A.D. 1	235
740.	Account of Corn	About A.D. 200	236
741.	List of Articles	2nd cent.	239
742.	Letter of Antas	B.C. 2	241
743.	Letter to a Friend	B.C. 2	242
744.	Letter of Ilarion	B.C. 1	243
745.	Letter to Gaius Rustius	About A.D. 1	244
746.	Letter of Recommendation	16	246
747.	Invitation to a Feast	Late 2nd or 3rd cent.	247
748–783.	Homeric Fragments	1st cent. B.C.–4th cent.	248
784–839.	Miscellaneous Documents	2nd cent. B.C.–2nd cent.	253

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE same general method is followed in the following pages as in preceding volumes. As before, a few of the new literary texts are printed in a dual form, a reconstruction in modern style accompanying a literal transcript. In other cases, and in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, addition of capital initials to proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements, so far as possible, of lacunae. In **669**, however, which is on a rather different level from the other literary pieces, accentuation and punctuation have been introduced as well as in **658**, which strictly does not belong to the literary section at all. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary documents are given in modern style only. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text and their occurrence is recorded in the critical notes, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected wherever any difficulty could arise. Iota adscript is printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original; double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ mean that the letters within them have been deleted in the original, braces { } that the letters so enclosed, though actually written, should be omitted. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri published in this volume and in Parts I–III; ordinary numerals to lines; small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically the same as those adopted by Wilcken in *Archiv* I. i. pp. 25–28, viz.:—

P. Amh. I and II = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Archiv = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den Königl. Museen zu Berlin, Griech. Urkunden.

P. Brit. Mus. I and II = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I and II, by F. G. Kenyon.

C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.

P. Cairo = Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum, Catalogue by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Catt. = Papyrus Cattaoui (*Archiv* iii. 55 sqq.).

P. Fay. Towns = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.

P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, by J. Nicole.

P. Goodsp. = Greek Papyri, by E. J. Goodspeed (*Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Vol. V).

P. Grenf. I and II = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell; Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Oxy. I, II and III = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I, II and III, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Par. = Les Papyrus Grecs du Musée du Louvre (*Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii. 2), by W. Brunet de Presle et E. Egger.

P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with Introduction by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

P. Tebt. I = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly.

Wilcken, *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

654. New Sayings of Jesus.

24·4 × 7·8 *cm.* Plate I.

By a curious stroke of good fortune our second excavations at Oxyrhynchus were, like the first, signalized by the discovery of a fragment of a collection of Sayings of Jesus. This consists of forty-two incomplete lines on the verso of a survey-list of various pieces of land, thus affording another example of the not uncommon practice of using the back of ephemeral documents for literary texts. The survey-list, which is in a cursive hand of the end of the second or early part of the third century, provides a *terminus a quo* for the writing on the other side. This, which is an upright informal uncial of medium size, we should assign to the middle or end of the third century; a later date than A.D. 300 is most unlikely. The present text is therefore nearly contemporary with the 'Logia' papyrus discovered in 1897, which also belongs to the third century, though probably to an earlier decade. In its general style and arrangement the present series of Sayings offers great resemblance to its predecessor. Here, as in the earlier 'Logia,' the individual Sayings are introduced by the formula 'Jesus saith,' and there is the same mingling of new and familiar elements; but the second series of Sayings is remarkable for the presence of the introduction to the whole collection (ll. 1–5), and another novelty is the fact that one of the Sayings (ll. 36 sqq.) is an answer to a question, the substance of which is reported (ll. 32–6). It is also noticeable that while in the first series the Sayings had little if any connexion of thought with each other, in the second series the first four at any rate are all concerned with the Kingdom of Heaven. That the present

text represents the beginning of a collection which later on included the original 'Logia' is very probable; this and the other general questions concerning the papyrus are discussed on pp. 10–22.

Excluding the introduction, there are parts of five separate Sayings, marked off from each other by paragraphi. In three cases (ll. 5, 9, and 36) a coronis indicates the end of a sentence, which in the two first cases is also the end of the Saying, but in the third is the end of the question to which the Saying is the answer. In all three instances the words λέγει Ἰησοῦς followed immediately after the coronis. In l. 27, however, there is no coronis at the end of the Saying, but there is one after the succeeding λέγει Ἰησοῦς. The scribe is thus inconsistent in his employment of this sign, and would seem to have misplaced it in l. 27, unless, indeed, his normal practice was to place a coronis both before and after λέγει Ἰησοῦς, and the absence of a coronis after σιν in l. 27 is a mere omission. It is noteworthy that in l. 27 a blank space is left where the coronis was to be expected. The single column of writing is complete at the top, but broken at the bottom and also vertically, causing the loss of the ends of lines throughout. From ll. 7–8, 15, 25, and 30, which can be restored with certainty from extant parallel passages, it appears that the lacunae at the ends of lines range from twelve to sixteen or at most eighteen letters, so that of each line, as far as l. 33, approximately only half is preserved. The introduction and the first and fourth Sayings admit of an almost complete reconstruction which is nearly or quite conclusive, but in the second, third, and fifth, which are for the most part entirely new, even the general sense is often obscure, and restorations are, except in a few lines, rather hazardous. The difficulties caused by the lacunae are enhanced by the carelessness of the scribe himself. The opening words οἱ τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι are intolerable, even in third century Greek, and γνωσθε in l. 20 and αποκαλυφησετ[αι in l. 29 are forms that require correction; while several instances of the interchange of letters occur, e.g. ει and η in l. 8 βασιλευση, αι and ε in l. 23 επερωτησε, and probably in l. 18 γνωσεσθαι (cf. note *ad loc.*), τ and θ in l. 31 θεθαμμενον, and perhaps υ and η in l. 10 (cf. note *ad loc.*). In two cases (ll. 19 and 25) words which the scribe had at first omitted are added by him over the line. The only contraction which appears is $\overline{\text{Ιης}}$ for Ἰησοῦς; πατήρ in l. 19 and οὐρανός in ll. 11–2 are written out, as usually happens in the earliest theological papyri.

We proceed now to the text; in the accompanying translation supplements which are not practically certain are enclosed in round brackets.

For valuable assistance in connexion with the reconstruction, interpretation, and illustration of **654**, we are indebted to Profs. Blass and Harnack, Dr. Bartlet, and Mr. F. P. Badham, but for the general remarks on pp. 10–22 we are alone responsible.

ΟΙ ΤΟΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΟΙ [
ΛΗϹΕΝ ΙΗϹ Ο ΖΩΝ Κ[
ΚΑΙ ΘΩΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ [
ΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΤ[
5 ΟΥ ΜΗ ΓΕΥϹΗΤΑΙ ⌣ [
ΜΗ ΠΑΥϹΑϹΘΩ Ο ΖΗ[
ΕΥΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΑΝ ΕΥΡΗ̣ [
ΒΗΘΕΙϹ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹΗ ΚΑ[
ΗϹΕΤΑΙ ⌣ ΛΕΓΕΙ Ι[
10 ΟΙ ΕΛΚΟΝΤΕϹ ΗΜΑϹ [
Η ΒΑϹΙΛΕΙΑ ΕΝ ΟΥΡΑ[
ΤΑ ΠΕΤΕΙΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡ[
ΤΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΕϹΤ[
ΟΙ ΙΧΘΥΕϹ ΤΗϹ ΘΑΛΑ[
15 ΤΕϹ ΥΜΑϹ ΚΑΙ Η ΒΑϹ[
ΕΝΤΟϹ ΥΜΩΝ [.]Ϛ̣ΤΙ [
ΓΝΩ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΗ[
ΕΑΥΤΟΥϹ ΓΝΩϹΕϹΘΑ̣Ι [
ΥΜΕΙϹ
ΕϹΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟϹ ΤΟΥ Τ̣[
20 ΓΝΩϹΘΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΥϹ ΕΝ̣[
ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙϹ ΕϹΤΕ ΗΠΤΟ̣[

ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΚΝΗϹΕΙ ΑΝΘ[
ΡΩΝ ΕΠΕΡΩΤΗϹΕ ΠΑ[
ΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΤΗ̣[
ΟΤΙ
25 ϹΕΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΕϹΟΝΤΑΙ Π̣[
ΟΙ ΕϹΧΑΤΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ [
ϹΙΝ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙΗϹ ⌣ . [
ΘΕΝ ΤΗϹ ΟΨΕΩϹ ϹΟΥ ΚΑΙ [
ΑΠΟ ϹΟΥ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΦΗϹΕΤ̣[
30 ΤΙΝ ΚΡΥΠΤΟΝ Ο ΟΥ ΦΑ̣Ν̣Ε̣[
ΚΑΙ ΘΕΘΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ Ο Ο[

[. .]ΕΤΑΖΟΥϹΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ Ο[
[. .]ΓΟΥϹΙΝ ΠΩϹ ΝΗϹΤΕΥ[
[. . . . .]Μ̣ΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΩϹ [
35 [. . . . .]Α̣Ι ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗϹ̣[
[. . . .]Ν̣ ⌣ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙΗϹ [
[. . . . .]ΕΙΤΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΕΙΤ̣[
[. . . . .]ΗϹ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑϹ ΑΝ[
[. . . . . .]Ν Α[.]ΟΚΕΚΡ[
40 [. . . . . .]Κ̣ΑΡΙ[. .] ΕϹΤΙΝ [
[. . . . . .]Ω̣ ΕϹΤ[
[. . . . . .]Ι̣Ν[
. . . . . .

Introduction. ll. 1–5.

{οἱ} τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ [. . . . . οὓς ἐλά-
λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[ύριος? . . . . . .
καὶ Θωμᾷ καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτοῖς· πᾶς ὅστις
ἂν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἀκούσῃ θανάτου
5 *οὐ μὴ γεύσηται.*

'These are the (wonderful?) words which Jesus the living (lord) spake to . . . and Thomas, and he said unto (them), Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death.'

The general sense of the introduction is clear, and most of the restorations are fairly certain. In l. 1 an adjective such as *θαυμάσιοι* is necessary after *οἱ* [. For *ἀκούειν* with the genitive in the sense of 'hearken to' as distinguished from merely hearing cf. e. g. Luke vi. 47 *πᾶς ὁ . . . ἀκούων μου τῶν λόγων καὶ ποιῶν αὐτούς.* For *θανάτου*] *οὐ μὴ γεύσηται*, cf. Matt. xvi. 28, Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27, and especially John viii. 52 *ἐάν τις τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσῃ, οὐ μὴ γεύσηται θανάτου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* In these passages of the Synoptists *θανάτου γεύεσθαι* simply means 'die' in the literal sense; but here no doubt, as in the passage in

St. John, the phrase has the deeper and metaphorical meaning that those who obey Christ's words and attain to the kingdom, reach a state unaffected by the death of the body. The beginning of l. 1 requires some correction, *οἱ τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ* being extremely ugly. The corruption of *οὗτοι* into *οἱ τοῖοι* is not very likely, though cf. Luke xxiv. 44 *εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὢν σὺν ὑμῖν.* But since *τοῖος* is found in late prose writers for *τοιόσδε*, the simplest course is to omit the initial *οἱ*. The *ι* of this *οἱ* being in a crack is not clear in the photograph, but is quite certain. The restoration of l. 2 presents the chief difficulty. *κ[ύριος* is very doubtful; *κ[αί* followed by e.g. *ἀποθανών* is equally likely, and several of the possible supplements at the end of the line require a longer word than *κ[ύριος* to precede. A dative before *καὶ Θωμᾷ* is necessary, and three alternatives suggest themselves:—(1) a proper name, in which case *Φιλίππῳ* or *Ματθίᾳ* (or *Ματθαίῳ*) are most likely in the light of the following words *καὶ Θωμᾷ*. Apocryphal Gospels assigned to Thomas, Philip, and Matthias are known, and in *Pistis Sophia* 70–1 Philip, Thomas, and Matthias (so Zahn with much probability in place of Matthew found in the text) are associated as the recipients of a special revelation; cf. Harnack, *Altchrist. Litterat.* I. p. 14; (2) a phrase such as *τοῖς τε ἄλλοις* or *τοῖς (ι') μαθηταῖς* (so Bartlet, cf. l. 32 and John xx. 26 *καὶ . . . ἦσαν ἔσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Θωμᾶς μετ' αὐτῶν*); (3) *Ἰούδᾳ τῷ] καὶ Θωμᾷ*, suggested by Prof. Lake, who compares the frequent occurrence of the double name *Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς* in the *Acts of Thomas*. The uncertainty attaching to the restoration is the more unfortunate, since much depends on it. If we adopt the first hypothesis, Thomas has only a secondary place; but on either of the other two he occupies the chief position, and this fact would obviously be of great importance in deciding the origin of the Sayings; cf. pp. 18 sqq. On the question whether the introduction implies a post-resurrectional point of view see pp. 13–4.

There is a considerable resemblance between the scheme of ll. 1–3, *οἱ λόγοι . . . οὓς ἐλάλησεν Ἰησοῦς . . . καὶ εἶπεν*, and the formulae employed in introducing several of the earliest citations of our Lord's Sayings, especially I Clem. 13 *μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων . . . οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν*, Acts xx. 35 *μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν.* Rendel Harris had already (*Contemp. Rev.* 1897, pp. 346–8) suggested that those formulae were derived from the introduction of a primitive collection of Sayings known to St. Paul, Clement of Rome, and Polycarp, and this theory gains some support from the parallel afforded by the introduction in **654**.

First Saying. ll. 5–9.

5 [λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·
μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζη[τῶν . . . . . ἕως ἂν
εὕρῃ καὶ ὅταν εὕρῃ [θαμβηθήσεται καὶ θαμ-
βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα-
ήσεται.

'Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest.'

The conclusion of this Saying is quoted from the Gospel according to the Hebrews by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 9. 45) *ἢ κἂν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ θαυμάσας*

βασιλεύσει γέγραπται καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται. In *Strom.* v. 14. 96 (a passage to which Zahn first called attention, *Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. p. 657) he quotes the Saying in a fuller and obviously more accurate form which agrees almost exactly with the papyrus, but without stating his source :—οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν εὕρῃ, εὕρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται, θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαήσεται. The word after ζη[τῶν in l. 6 is very likely the object of ζητῶν (τὴν ζωήν?; τὴν βασιλείαν is too long), but it may be another participle depending on πανσάσθω or an adverb. This part of the saying is parallel to Matt. vii. 7 (=Luke xi. 9) ζητεῖτε καὶ εὑρήσετε. The supplements in ll. 7–8 are already rather long in comparison with the length of lines required in ll. 15, 25, and 30, so that it is improbable that ἐπαναπαήσεται is to be supplied or that ὁ occurred in the papyrus before θαμβηθεὶς and βασιλεύσας (cf. the first quotation from Clement). ὁ δέ in place of καί is of course possible in l. 7, but since the papyrus has καί and not δέ in l. 8 καί is more likely also in l. 7. The occurrence of θαμβηθείς, not θαυμάσας, in ll. 7–8, confirms Zahn's acute suggestion (*Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. p. 657) that θαμβηθείς was the original word; but we should not accept his ingenious explanation of it as a mistranslation of a Hebrew or Aramaic verb which could also mean θορυβηθείς, and his view that συντετριμμένος (cf. Luke iv. 18) would have been the right term. The attractiveness of this kind of conjecture is, as we have recently had occasion to remark (**403** introd.), only equalled by its uncertainty. Now that the Saying is known in its completer form, and if we disregard the particular object (to show that the beginning of philosophy is wonder) to which Clement in the first of his two quotations turns it, this description of the successive stages in the attainment of the kingdom of Heaven seems to us decidedly striking, and by no means so far removed from the 'Anschauungen des echten Urchristenthums' as Resch (*Agrapha*, pp. 378–9) considers. To the probable reference to it in II Clem. v. 5 (cf. the next note) ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστιν καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου, quoted by Resch (*l. c.*), Mr. Badham adds a remarkable one in the *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Bonnet, p. 243) οἱ ἀξίως μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγαθῶν ἀναπαύονται καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι βασιλεύσουσιν[1].

As Dr. Bartlet aptly remarks, the idea of the necessity for strenuous effort in order to attain to the kingdom has much in common, not only with the 3rd Saying οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθ[ρωπος κ.τ.λ., but with the 5th Logion ('Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me'); cf. pp. 12–3.

Second Saying. ll. 9–21.

λέγει Ἰ[η(σοῦς· . . . . . τίνες
10 οἱ ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰ
ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ ἐστιν; . . . . . .
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅ-

[1] Since this volume was put into type, Harnack has expressed his views of this *Agraphon* in *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1904, pp. 175–9. He there shows in opposition to Zahn that astonishment is to be interpreted here as a sign of joy, not of fear, and strongly repels the unfavourable criticisms of Resch upon the Saying, of which Harnack in fact maintains the substantial genuineness. Incidentally, as he also remarks, the close parallelism between the language of the papyrus and Clement is important, for from whatever source this Saying found its way into the present collection, it cannot have come through Clement. There is, therefore, good reason to think that the Gospel according to the Hebrews (or at least a part of it) was known in Egypt in a Greek version at an early period, a view which has been disputed by Zahn.

τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης οὗτοι οἱ ἕλκον-
15 τες ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι [καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν
γνῷ ταύτην εὑρή[σει . . . . . .
ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε [καὶ εἰδήσετε ὅτι υἱοὶ
ἔστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τ[. . . . . .
20 γνώσ⟨εσ⟩θε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν[. . . . . .
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ηπτο[. . . .

'Jesus saith, (Ye ask? who are those) that draw us (to the kingdom, if) the kingdom is in Heaven? . . . the fowls of the air, and all beasts that are under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, (these are they which draw) you, and the kingdom of Heaven is within you; and whoever shall know himself shall find it. (Strive therefore?) to know yourselves, and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the . . . Father; (and?) ye shall know yourselves . . . and ye are . . .'

The reconstruction of this, the longest and most important of the Sayings, is extremely difficult. Beyond the supplements in l. 15 which are based on the parallel in Luke xvii. 21 with the substitution of τῶν οὐρανῶν, St. Matthew's phrase, for St. Luke's τοῦ θεοῦ which is too short for the lacuna, and those in ll. 12–3, 16, and 18, the general accuracy of which is guaranteed by the context, it is impossible to proceed without venturing into the region of pure conjecture. There seems to be no direct parallel to or trace of this Saying among the other non-canonical Sayings ascribed to our Lord, and the materials provided by ll. 10–12—οἱ ἕλκοντες, the kingdom of Heaven and the fowls of the air—are at first sight so disparate that the recovery of the connexion between them may seem a hopeless task. But though no restoration of ll. 9–14 can hope to be very convincing, and by adopting different supplements from those which we have suggested, quite another meaning can no doubt be obtained (see below), we think that a fairly good case can be made out in favour of our general interpretation. The basis of it is the close parallelism which we have supposed to exist between l. 15 τες ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and, on the other hand, l. 10 οἱ ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς followed in l. 11 by ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ, whereby we restore οἱ ἕλκον] at the end of l. 14. If this be granted ll. 9–16 divide themselves naturally into two parallel halves at the lacuna in l. 11, ll. 9–10 corresponding to ll. 12–5, and l. 11 to ll. 15–6. How is this correspondence to be explained? The simplest solution is to suppose that ll. 9–11 are a question to which ll. 12–6 form the answer; hence we supply τίνες in l. 9; cf. the 5th Saying, which is an answer to a question. A difficulty then arises that we have ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς in l. 10 but ἕλκον]|τες ὑμᾶς in ll. 14–5. This may be a mere accident due to the common confusion of ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς in papyri of this period, and perhaps ὑμᾶς should be read in both cases. But ἡμᾶς in l. 10 can be defended in two ways, by supposing either that Jesus here lays stress rather on His human than on His divine nature, and associates Himself with the disciples, or that the question is put into the mouth of the disciples, i.e. the word before τίνες was ἐρωτᾶτε or the like. There remains, however, the greatest crux of all, the meaning of ἕλκοντες. In the two passages in which this word

occurs in the New Testament it has an unfavourable sense; but here a favourable meaning is much more likely, as with ἑλκύειν in John vi. 44 ἐὰν μὴ ὁ πατὴρ . . . ἑλκύσῃ αὐτόν and xii. 32 πάντας ἑλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν: Mr. Badham compares Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 6 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ (i.e. wild beasts of sinners) προτρέπει ὁ Κύριος τοῖς δὲ ἤδη ἐγχειρήσασι καὶ χεῖρα ὀρέγει καὶ ἀνέλκει, and *ibid.* v. 12 ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ Λόγου . . . πάντα τὸν καταδεξάμενον καὶ ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἕλκει. A phrase such as εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν is required to explain ἕλκοντες, though even with this addition the use of that word in such a context must be admitted to be difficult. The idea in ll. 12–6 seems to be that the divine element in the world begins in the lower stages of animal creation, and rises to a higher stage in man, who has within him the kingdom of Heaven; cf. Clement's discussion (*Strom.* v. 13) of Xenocrates' view that even ἄλογα ζῶα possibly had some τοῦ θείου ἔννοια, and the curious sanctity of certain animals in the various Apocryphal Acts, e. g. Thecla's baptized lioness, Thomas's ass, Philip's leopard and kid buried at the door of the church. It is possible that there is some connexion between this Saying and the use of Luke xvii. 21 by the Naassenes; cf. p. 18. The transition from the inward character of the kingdom to the necessity for self-knowledge (ll. 16–21) is natural. Since the kingdom is not an external manifestation but an inward principle, men must know themselves in order to attain to its realization. The old Greek proverb γνῶθι σεαυτόν is thus given a fresh significance. Mr. Badham well compares Clem. *Paedag.* iii. 1 ἦν ἄρα ὡς ἔοικε πάντων μέγιστον μαθημάτων τὸ γνῶναι αὑτόν· ἑαυτὸν γάρ τις ἐὰν γνῷη θεὸν εἴσεται. For the restoration of l. 16, cf. l. 18. ταύτην in l. 17 is the βασιλεία. This line may have ended with something like ὅπως οὖν, if we are right in correcting γνώσεσθαι to γνώσεσθε (cf. the similar confusion in l. 23). For υἱοί, which is required by the context in l. 18, cf. e.g. Luke xx. 36. τ[in l. 19 (π[is equally possible) is perhaps the beginning of an adjective, but τούτ[ου χάριν, e. g., might also be read. How γνωσθε in l. 20 is to be emended is uncertain; we suggest γνώσ⟨εσ⟩θε, but the corruption may go deeper. εν[is perhaps ἐν[τὸς τῆς βασιλείας. ηπτο[in l. 21 is very obscure; the letter following τ may be ε, ο or ω; but neither if η is the article, nor if ηπτο[is one word, does any suitable restoration suggest itself. ηπτο[can hardly be a participle, for if λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς occurred, as would be expected, at the end of the line, there is room for only about four more letters in the lacuna. It is tempting to read ἡ π{τ}ό[λις, with ἐν [τῇ πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ in l. 20, as Blass suggests, comparing for the omission of ὄντας Mark vi. 20 εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον.

Another and quite different restoration of the early part of this Saying is suggested by Dr. Bartlet, who would read λέγει Ἰ[η(σοῦ)ς· μὴ φοβείτωσαν] οἱ ἕλκοντες ὑμᾶς [ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑμῶν γὰρ] ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται] τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ καὶ πᾶν ζῶον ὅ] τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν τά τε ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ] οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης . . ., comparing the idea in *Epistle of Barnabas*, vi. 12 and 18 τίς οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος νῦν ἄρχειν θηρίων ἢ ἰχθύων ἢ πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὀφείλομεν ὅτι τὸ ἄρχειν ἐξουσίας ἐστίν, ἵνα τις ἐπιτάξας κυριεύσῃ. εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἴρηκεν πότε· ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν, κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι, and II Clem. v. 4 εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους . . . καὶ γινώσκετε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιδημία ἡ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ τῆς σαρκὸς ταύτης μικρά ἐστι καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ. (a passage resembling the 1st Saying; cf. note, *ad loc.*). The parallels from Barnabas and Clement perhaps give this restoration some advantage over ours, but ἕλκοντες alone without an explanatory phrase is not a satisfactory word for 'persecute,' and the transition from the promise of the kingdom of Heaven to the fowls of the air is very abrupt and almost inconsequent, while it is difficult to find the connexion between the fowls of the air and the second mention of the kingdom of Heaven. This, the chief problem in the 2nd Saying, seems more easily explained by the hypothesis of a repetition of ἕλκοντες and the resulting parallelism between the two halves of ll. 9–16 which we have suggested.

Third Saying. ll. 21–7.

[λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·
οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθ[ρωπος . . . . . .
ρων ἐπερωτῆσαι πα[. . . . . .
ρων περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς . . . . . .
25 σετε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ
οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [. . . . . .
σιν.

'Jesus saith, A man shall not hesitate . . . to ask . . . concerning his place (in the kingdom. Ye shall know) that many that are first shall be last and the last first and (they shall have eternal life?).'

Line 24 may well have continued τῆ[ς βασιλείας followed by a word meaning 'know' (? εἰδήσετε, or γνώσετε or ἀκούσετε, for γνώσεται or ἀκούσεται), but the double -ρων in ll. 23 and 24 is very puzzling, and in the absence of a clear parallel we forbear to restore the earlier part of the Saying. Dr. Bartlet suggests a connexion with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, e.g. § 4 κἀγὼ ἔφην αὐτῷ· καὶ ποῦ εἰσι πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι ἢ ποῖός ἐστιν ὁ αἰὼν ἐν ᾧ εἰσι ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, § 5 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος τῶν ἀρχέρων (l. ἀρχαίων, Bartlet) ὑμῶν τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπων, taking ἀρχαίων to be equivalent to πρεσβυτέρων in Heb. xi. 2, or to πατέρων; cf. Matt. v. 21, 33 ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις and Luke ix. 8, 19. But the problem was an old one. Lines 25–6 πολλοὶ . . . πρῶτοι follow Mark x. 31 (=Matt. xix. 30) πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι. In the insertion of οἱ before ἔσχατοι the papyrus agrees with BC and many MSS. in Mark x. 31; ℵD and other MSS. omit οἱ there, and in Matt. xix. 30 οἱ is generally omitted, though found in C and some others. Luke xiii. 30 is rather longer, καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἳ ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἳ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι. σιν in l. 27 is no doubt the termination of a verb: ζωὴν (αἰώνιον) κληρονομήσου]σιν (Matt. xix. 29) and μετ' ἐμοῦ βασιλεύσου]σιν are too long, but ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἕξου]σιν (cf. John iii. 16, 36, v. 24, &c.) is possible.

Fourth Saying. ll. 27–31.

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσ-
θεν τῆς ὄψεως σου καὶ [τὸ κεκρυμμένον
ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀποκαλυφ⟨θ⟩ήσετ[αί σοι. οὐ γάρ ἐσ-
30 τιν κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρὸν γενήσεται
καὶ τεθαμμένον ὃ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.

'Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised.'

The sense of this Saying is clear, and the supplements are fairly certain. Lines 29–30

are parallel to Matt. x. 26 *οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται*, Luke xii. 2 *οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶν ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται*: cf. Mark iv. 22 *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτὸν ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς φανερόν*. In general arrangement the papyrus agrees with Matthew and Luke perhaps more than with Mark; but the language of the first half of the sentence is much closer to that of Mark (whose expression *ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ* instead of the more pointed *ὃ οὐ φανερώθησεται* suggests the hand of an editor), while that of the second half diverges from all three. *τεθαμμένον* makes a more forcible contrast to *κρυπτόν* than the corresponding word in the Synoptists, which is merely a synonym. Instead of *ἐγερθήσεται* a more general word such as *γνωσθήσεται* can be supplied; but this detracts from the picturesqueness of what is in any case a striking variation of a well-known Saying.

Fifth Saying. ll. 32–42.

[ἐξ]ετάζουσιν αὐτὸν ο[ἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
[λέ]γουσιν· πῶς νηστεύ[σομεν καὶ πῶς . . .
[. . . . .]μεθα καὶ πῶς [. . . . . .
35 [. . . . κ]αὶ τί παρατηρήσ[ομεν . . . . . .
[. . . . .]ν; λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [. . . . . .
[. . . . .]ειται μὴ ποιεῖτ[ε . . . . . .
[. . . . .]ης ἀληθείας ἀν[. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]ν ἀ[π]οκεκρ[υ . . . . . .
40 [. . . . . μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστιν [. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]ω ἐστ[ι . . . . . .
[. . . . . .]ιν[. . . . . .

'His disciples question him and say, How shall we fast and how shall we (pray?) . . . and what (commandment) shall we keep . . . Jesus saith, . . . do not . . . blessed is he . . .'

Though this Saying is broken beyond hope of recovery, its general drift may be caught. It clearly differed from the other Sayings, both in this papyrus and the first series of Logia, in having a preliminary paragraph giving the occasion, which seems to be a question put by the disciples; cf. p. 15. For *ἐξετάζειν* in reference to them cf. John xxi. 12 *οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐτόλμα τῶν μαθητῶν ἐξετάσαι αὐτόν· σὺ τίς εἶ; εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κύριός ἐστιν.* *αὐτοῦ* in l. 1 is not very satisfactory, but something more than *μαθηταί* is required, and cf. 655. 17–8. *Φαρισαῖοι* is not likely in the light of what follows. The question clearly consisted of a number of short sentences, each beginning with *πῶς* or *τί*, and so far as can be judged, they were concerned with the outward forms of religion, fasting, prayer (*προσευξό]μεθα?*), and almsgiving. How far, it is probably asked, are existing Jewish ordinances to be kept? The answer of Jesus appears to have been a series of short commandments insisting on the inner side of religion as the pursuit of virtue and truth, and very likely concluding in l. 40 with the promise 'Blessed is he who doeth these things.' If this explanation is on the right lines, there is a general parallelism between this Saying and

Matt. xix. 16–22 and Luke xviii. 18–22, but the occurrence of ἀλήθεια and ἀ[π]οκεκρ[ύμμένον (?) suggests that the language was more Johannine in character. Line 39, as Prof. Lake remarks, could be restored on the basis of Rev. ii. 17 τὸ μάν]να [τ]ὸ κεκρ[υμμένον. The reference to fasting in l. 33 suggests a connexion with the 2nd Logion ('Except ye fast to the world'), which may well have been an answer to a similar question by the disciples.

We do not propose to enter upon a detailed examination of the numerous and complicated problems involving the Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels and the 'Logia' of 1897, which are reopened by the discovery of the new Sayings. But we may be permitted to indicate the broader issues at stake, and in the light of the wide discussion of the Logia of 1897 to point out some effects of the new elements now introduced into the controversy.

We start therefore with a comparison of the two series of Sayings (which we shall henceforth call **1** and **654**). Both were found on the same site and the papyri are of approximately the same date, which is not later than about the middle of the third century, so that both collections must go back at least to the second century. The outward appearance of the two papyri is indeed different, **1** being a leaf from a handsomely-written book, which may well have been a valuable trade-copy, while **654** is in roll form and was written on the verso of a comparatively trivial document. The practice of writing important literary texts on such material was, however, extremely common, and the form of **654** lends no support to the hypothesis that the papyrus is a collection of notes made by the writer himself. In the uncial character of the handwriting, the absence of abbreviations and contractions other than those usually found in early theological MSS., and the careful punctuation by the use of the paragraphus and coronis, **654** shares the characteristics of an ordinary literary text such as **1**. Since **1** is the 11th page of a book, it must have formed part of a large collection of Sayings, while **654** comes from the beginning of a manuscript and provides no direct evidence of the length of the roll. But the document on the recto is not a letter or contract which would be likely to be short, but an official land-survey list, and these tend to be of very great length, e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 267, P. Tebt. I. 84–5. The recently published Leipzig papyrus of the Psalms (Heinrici, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. NT.* iv), though incomplete at the beginning and end, contains as many as thirty-six columns written in cursive on the verso. So far therefore as can be judged from externals, **654** like **1** probably belongs to an extensive collection of Sayings which may well have numbered several hundreds.

Turning next to the contents of the two papyri, no one can fail to be struck with their formal resemblance. Postponing for the moment the introduction of **654** (ll. 1–5), which, since it necessarily presupposes the existence of the Sayings introduced and may have been added later, stands on a different footing from the Sayings and requires separate treatment, the five Sayings partly recorded in **654** begin like those in **1** with the simple formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς; and both fragments contain Sayings which to a greater or less degree have parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels side by side with Sayings which are new. In **1** the style was simple and direct, and the setting, with the constant balancing of the words and sentences and the absence of connecting particles, highly archaic; the same features, though obscured unfortunately by the incompleteness of the papyrus, are also distinctly traceable in **654**. There is, however, one difference in the two papyri in point of form. To the 5th Saying in **654** (ll. 36 sqq.) is prefixed (ll. 32–6) a brief account of the question to which it was the answer. This may prove to be of great importance in deciding the origin of these Sayings, but for our present purpose it is sufficient to point out that even in **654** the occurrence of the context is the exception, not the rule, and the fact that the Sayings in **1** agree with the

first four Sayings in **654** in omitting the context rather than with the 5th obviously produces no serious conflict between the two documents.

We proceed to a closer examination of the two series. In **1** the 7th Logion ('A city built on a hill') is connected with St. Matthew's Gospel alone; the 6th ('A prophet is not acceptable') has a noticeable point of contact with St. Luke in the use of the word δεκτός, and the 1st also agrees with St. Luke. The 5th ('Wherever there are') starts with a parallel to St. Matthew, but extends into a region far beyond. Nowhere in **1** can the influence of St. Mark be traced, nor was there any direct parallel with St. John's Gospel; but the new Sayings, both in thought and expression, tended to have a mystical and Johannine character. In **654** we have one Saying (the 2nd) of which the central idea is parallel to a passage found in St. Luke alone, but of which the developments are new; the conclusion of the 3rd Saying connects with St. Matthew and St. Mark rather than with St. Luke, while the 4th is a different version of a Saying found in all three Synoptists, and is on the whole nearer to St. Mark than to the other two Evangelists. The 1st Saying and, so far as we can judge, the 5th have little, if any, point of contact with the Canonical Gospels. As in **1**, so in **654** the new elements tend to have a Johannine colouring, especially in the 2nd Saying; but some caution must be observed in tracing connexions with St. John's theology. The 1st Saying, if the papyrus had been the sole authority for it, might well have seemed nearer in style to St. John than to the Synoptists; yet as a matter of fact it occurred in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, a very early work which is generally admitted to have been originally written in Hebrew and to have been independent of the Canonical Gospels, most of all St. John's. On the other hand, while the Sayings in **654** contain nothing so markedly Johannine in style as e.g. 'I stood in the midst of the world . . .' in **1**. 11 sqq., the introduction contains a clear parallel to John viii. 52. This at first sight may perhaps seem to imply a knowledge of St. John's Gospel on the part of the author of the introduction, but it must be remembered (1) that St. John may well not have been the sole authority for the attribution of that Saying to our Lord, and if so, that the author of the introduction may have obtained it from another source, (2) that a knowledge of St. John's Gospel on the part of the author of the introduction does not necessarily imply a corresponding debt to that Gospel in the following Sayings, which, as we have said, stand on a somewhat different footing from the introduction.

In our original edition of **1** we maintained (*a*) that the Sayings had no traceable thread of connexion with each other beyond the fact of their being ascribed to the same speaker, (*b*) that none of them implied a post-resurrectional point of view, (*c*) that they were not in themselves heretical, and that though the asceticism of Log. 2 and the mystic character of Log. 5 were obviously capable of development in Encratite and Gnostic directions, the Sayings as a whole were much nearer in style to the New Testament than to the apocryphal literature of the middle and end of the second century. If these positions have been vigorously assailed, they have also been stoutly defended, and about the second and third no general agreement has been reached; with regard to the first the balance of opinion has been in favour of our view, and the various attempts to trace a connexion of ideas running through the Sayings have met with little acceptance. What answer is to be returned to the corresponding problems in **654**?

We will take the third question first. Is there anything in **654** to show that the Sayings originated in or circulated among a particular sect? We should answer this in the negative. There is nothing heretical in the introduction, the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Sayings, or, so far as can be judged, the 5th. The Encratite leanings which have been ascribed to the 2nd Logion are conspicuously absent in **654**; the remains of the 5th Saying in fact rather suggest an anti-Jewish point of view, from which however the 2nd Logion itself

was not widely distant, if, as we strongly hold, νηστεύσητε and σαββατίζητε are to be taken metaphorically. The absence of any Jewish-Christian element in **654** is the more remarkable seeing that the 1st Saying also occurs in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The only Saying that is at all suspicious is the 2nd, which like Log. 5 is sure to be called in some quarters 'Gnostic.' That the profoundly mystical but, as it seems to us, obviously genuine Saying of our Lord recorded in Luke xvii. 21 'The kingdom of God is within you' should have given rise to much speculation was to be expected, and from Hippolytus *Refut.* v. 7 it is known that this Saying occupied an important place in the doctrines of the Naassenes, one of the most pronounced Gnostic sects of the second or early third century. That there is a connexion between the Sayings and the Naassenes through the Gospel of Thomas is quite possible and this point will be discussed later (pp. 18–9); but to import Naassene tenets into the 2nd Saying in **654** is not only gratuitous but a ὕστερον πρότερον. Moreover, though the other ideas in the Saying connected with the parallel from St. Luke, the development of the kingdom of Heaven through brute creation up to man (if that be the meaning of ll. 9–16), and the Christian turn given to the proverbial γνῶθι σεαυτόν (ll. 16–21), may point to a later stage of thought than that found in the Canonical Gospels, the 2nd Saying as a whole, if 'Gnostic,' presents a very primitive kind of Gnosticism, and is widely separated from the fully-developed theosophy of e.g. the *Pistis Sophia*. In any case the 'Gnosticism' of **654** is on much the same level as that of **1**.

Do any of the Sayings (apart from the introduction) imply a post-resurrectional point of view? This too we should answer in the negative. There is not only nothing in them to indicate that they were spoken after the resurrection, but substantial evidence for the opposite view. The familiar Sayings in the Canonical Gospels which are parallel to those found in **654** are there assigned to our Lord's lifetime, including even John viii. 52. The Gospel according to the Hebrews with which the 1st Saying is connected covered the same ground as the Synoptists, and there is no reason to suppose that this Saying occurred there as a post-resurrectional utterance. But the best argument is provided by the 5th Saying, especially its context which is fortunately given. The questions there addressed to Jesus clearly belong to a class of problems which are known to have been raised by our Lord's disciples and others in his lifetime, and, if ἐξετάζουσιν is in any case a somewhat stronger term than would be expected, seeing that the disciples seem to be the subject (though cf. John xxi. 12), it is most unlikely that this word would have been used with reference to the risen Christ. In fact none of the five Sayings in **654** suggests a post-resurrectional point of view so much as the 3rd Logion ('I stood in the midst of the world'); cf. pp. 13–4.

Can a definite principle or train of ideas be traced through the Sayings? The first four are certainly linked together by the connecting idea of the kingdom of Heaven, which is the subject to a greater or less degree of all of them. But between the 4th and 5th Sayings the chain is certainly much weaker and threatens to snap altogether. It is very difficult to believe that if **654** was part of a large collection of similar Sayings a connexion of thought could have been maintained throughout, and the Sayings in the later columns of **654** may well have been as disconnected as those in **1**. Even in the five which are partly preserved in **654** there is a constant change in the persons addressed, the 1st and 3rd being couched in the third singular, the 2nd and almost certainly the 5th in the second plural, and the 4th in the second singular. Moreover the real link is, we think, supplied by the introduction, the consideration of which can no longer be delayed. Only before proceeding further we would state our conviction that in all essential points, the date of the papyrus, the form of the Sayings, their relation to the Canonical Gospels, and the general character of the new elements in them, to say nothing of the parallelism of thought between the 1st and

3rd Sayings and the 5th Logion (cf. p. 5), the resemblances between **654** and **1** so far outweigh the differences that for practical purposes they may be treated as parts of the same collection. Even if it ever should be proved that the first page of **1** did not coincide with **654**, the two fragments so clearly reflect the same surroundings and mental conditions that we cannot regard as satisfactory any explanation of the one which is incompatible with the other.

'*These are the . . . words which Jesus the living . . . spake to . . . and Thomas, and he said unto them "Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death."*' Such is the remarkable opening prefixed to the collection of Sayings in **654** by its unknown editor. The first point to be noticed is that the name given to the collection is, as was acutely divined by Dr. Lock (*Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus*, p. 16), λόγοι not λόγια, and all questions concerning the meaning of the latter term may therefore be left out of account in dealing with the present series of Sayings. The converse of this, however, in our opinion by no means holds good, and as we have pointed out (p. 4), the analogy of the present document has a considerable bearing upon the problems concerning an early collection of λόγια. Secondly, the collection is represented as being spoken either to St. Thomas alone or to St. Thomas and another disciple or, less probably, other disciples. Does the compiler mean that the Sayings were the subject of a special revelation to St. Thomas and perhaps another disciple, from which the rest were excluded? In other words is this introduction parallel to that passage in the *Pistis Sophia* 70–1 in which mention is made of a special revelation to SS. Philip, Thomas, and Matthias (or Matthew; cf. p. 4)? The case in favour of an affirmative answer to this query would be greatly strengthened if the introduction provided any indication that the editor assigned his collection of Sayings to the period after the Resurrection. But no such evidence is forthcoming. We do not wish to lay stress on ὁ ζῶν in l. 2 owing to the uncertainty attaching to the word that follows; but the phrase ὁ ζῶν certainly does not point to the post-resurrection period. In the Canonical Gospels St. Thomas is made prominent only in connexion with that period (John xx. 24 sqq.), but this circumstance, which is probably the strongest argument in favour of a post-resurrectional point of view, is discounted by the fact that the Gospel of Thomas, so far as can be judged, was not of the nature of a post-resurrectional Gospel but rather a Gospel of the childhood (cf. pp. 18–9), and, secondly, seems to be outweighed by the indications in the Sayings themselves (cf. p. 12) that some of them at any rate were assigned to Jesus' lifetime. The force of the second argument can indeed be turned by supposing, as Dr. Bartlet suggests, that the standpoint of the collection, both in **1** and **654**, is that of a post-resurrection interview in which the old teaching of Christ's lifetime is declared again in relation to the larger needs of Christian experience. But such a view necessarily implies that ll. 1–3 define a particular occasion (e. g. that contemplated in John xx. 26) on which the Sayings were spoken in their present order, and to this hypothesis there are grave objections. The use of the aorists ἐλάλησεν and εἶπεν in **654**. 2–3 does not prove that one occasion only was meant. The repetition of λέγει Ἰησοῦς before each of the Sayings seems very unnecessary if they are part of a continuous discourse. The difficulty of tracing a connexion of ideas throughout **654**, and still more throughout **1**, and the frequent changes in the persons addressed provide fresh obstacles to such an interpretation; and the inappropriateness of the word ἐξετάζουσι in connexion with the risen Christ has already been alluded to (p. 12). To suppose that **654**. 3–31 is a speech in itself, that ll. 32–6 revert to the original narrative broken off at l. 3 and that **1** is part of a later discourse appears to us a very strained interpretation.

We are not therefore disposed to consider that the introduction to the Sayings, any more than the Sayings by themselves, implies a post-resurrectional point of view on the part

of the compiler, still less that the background of the Sayings is at all the same as that contemplated in the *Pistis Sophia*, which belongs to a later stage of thought than the Sayings. Hence we are not prepared to accept an analogy derived from that or any other similar treatise as an argument for thinking that the editor by his introduction meant to imply that St. Thomas or St. Thomas and some one else were the sole hearers of the Sayings. What we think he did mean to imply was that the ultimate authority for the record of these Sayings was in his opinion St. Thomas or St. Thomas and another disciple. This hypothesis provides a satisfactory, in fact we think the only satisfactory, explanation of the frequent changes of persons and abrupt transitions of subject which characterize the Sayings as a whole.

Thirdly, the editor enforces the momentous claim which he has made for the authoritative character of the Sayings by quoting a sentence which, with several variations of language, but not of thought, occurs in John viii. 52, and which in the present context forms a highly appropriate prelude. Does this imply that the editor adapted the verse in St. John to his own purposes? On this point, since we are not prepared to maintain that that passage in St. John is essentially unhistorical, we cannot give a decided opinion; and in any case the probable relation of **654** to St. John's Gospel must be considered from the point of view of the collection of Sayings as a whole and of the conclusions adopted as to the editor's claim, rather than made a starting-point for an investigation of that claim and the source of the Sayings. For as we have said (p. 10), the introduction necessarily stands on a somewhat different footing from the Sayings, and even if knowledge and use of the Canonical Gospels by the author of the introduction was certain, this would not prove a corresponding dependence of the Sayings themselves upon the Canonical Gospels. All that can at present safely be inferred from the parallelism between the introduction and St. John is that the editor of the collection lived in an atmosphere of thought influenced by those speculative ideas in early Christianity which found their highest expression in the Fourth Gospel.

What value, if any, is to be attached to this far-reaching claim—that the collection of Sayings derives its authority, not from the traditional sources of any of the four Canonical Gospels, but from St. Thomas and perhaps another disciple? The custom of invoking the authority of a great and familiar name for an anonymous and later work is so common in early Christian, as in other, writings, that the mere statement of the editor carries no weight by itself, and is not worth considering unless the internal evidence of the Sayings themselves can be shown to point in the same direction or at any rate to be not inconsistent with his claim. We pass therefore to the problem of the general nature and origin of the Sayings in **654** and **1**, and as a convenient method of inquiry start from an examination of the various theories already put forward in explanation of **1**. Not that we wish to hold any of our critics to their previous opinions on the subject. The discovery of **654**, with the introduction containing the mention of Thomas and a close parallel to St. John's Gospel, with one Saying coinciding with a citation from the Gospel to the Hebrews and another having the context prefixed to it, introduces several novel and highly important factors into the controversy; and, being convinced of the close connexion between **1** and **654**, we consider that all questions concerning **1** must be studied *de novo*. But since most of the chief New Testament scholars have expressed their views on **1**, and an immense variety of opinion is represented, it is not likely that we shall require to go far outside the range of solutions which have already been suggested. A convenient bibliography and resumé of the controversy will be found in Profs. Lock and Sanday's *Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus*.

In our original edition of **1** we proposed A.D. 140 as the latest date to which the composition of the Sayings could be referred. This *terminus ad quem* has generally been

accepted, even by Dr. Sanday, who is amongst the most conservative of our critics; and the only notable exception is, so far as we know, Zahn, who would make the Sayings as late as 160–70. But his explanation of **1** has met with little favour, and, as we shall show, is now rendered still less probable. Accordingly, we should propose A.D. 140 for the *terminus ad quem* in reference to **654** with greater confidence than we felt about **1** in 1897.

The chief dividing line in the controversy lies between those who agreed with our suggestion that **1** belonged to a collection of Sayings as such, and those who considered **1** to be a series of extracts from one or more of the numerous extra-canonical gospels which are known to have circulated in Egypt in the second century. Does **654** help to decide the question in either direction? One argument which has been widely used in support of the view that **1** was really a series of extracts, viz. that the Sayings had no contexts, is somewhat damaged by the appearance of a Saying which has a context. But we are not disposed to lay stress on this contradictory instance, which is clearly exceptional, though we may be pardoned for deprecating beforehand the use of the converse argument that the occurrence of a context proves the Sayings to be extracts. This argument may seem to gain some support from the use of *αὐτόν* (and probably *αὐτοῦ*) in **654**. 32; and it will very likely be pointed out that such a passage as **655**. 17–23 would by the insertion of *Ἰησοῦς* after *λέγει* make a context and Saying in form exactly resembling **654**. 32 sqq. But the use of *αὐτόν* causes no ambiguity where it is found in one of a series of Sayings each beginning *λέγει Ἰησοῦς*, a formula which itself recurs later on in the same context; and the argument from the analogy of **655**. 17–23 is open to the obvious retort that such a passage may equally well have been transferred from a collection of Sayings with occasional contexts, like **654**. The fact is that the formal presence or absence of contexts in a series of Sayings can be employed with equal plausibility to prove or disprove the view that the series consisted of extracts, and would therefore seem a very unsound argument to introduce into the discussion. The matter of the context of the 5th Saying, however, has perhaps a more important bearing than the form upon the question of extracts. The phrase *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* there follows two historic presents, *ἐξετάζουσιν* and *λέγουσιν*, and is therefore presumably itself a historic present; and if *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* is a historic present in one case, it should be so throughout **654** and **1**. This context therefore confirms the explanation of *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* in **1** suggested by Zahn. Are we to follow him in his next inference that the formula *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* has been taken over without alteration by the editor from his source, which was therefore presumably a Gospel narrative? To this we should answer by a decided negative. As Dr. Lock remarks (*Two Lectures*, p. 18), 'it is not likely that *λέγει* should have occurred *uniformly* in a narrative,' a criticism which is strengthened by the recurrence in **654** of at least three more instances of *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* (ll. 9, 27, and 36), and by the comparison of **654**. 32 sqq. and **655**. 17–23, which suggests that if the former had been taken directly from a Gospel like that to which the latter belonged, *Ἰησοῦς* would have been omitted. It is, we think, much more probable that the formula *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* is due to the editor of the collection than to his sources, whatever they were. And though there is now no longer any particular reason for interpreting the tense of *λέγει* as more than a historic present, a secondary meaning is not excluded, and may be present in l. 36 just as much as in the other instances where there is no context. We should be inclined to paraphrase *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* as 'This is one of those *λόγοι* of Jesus to which I referred in the introduction,' and to explain the uniform repetition of it as marking off the several *λόγοι* from each other, and giving greater impressiveness to the whole. The fact that the editor used the aorist and not the historic present in his introduction suggests that by his employment of the present tense *λέγει* throughout the Sayings he intended to produce a slightly different effect from that which would have been caused by *ἔλεγεν* or *εἶπεν*. But

this new light shed upon the formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς does not bring with it any new reason for regarding the Sayings as extracts from a narrative Gospel.

A much more important factor in deciding whether the Sayings are extracts or not is the introduction, which though it may be a later addition, and though the reference to St. Thomas may be merely a bold invention of the editor, is there, and its presence has to be accounted for. So far from stating that the Sayings are extracts from any work, the editor asserts that they are a collection of λόγοι, a circumstance which seems to provide an adequate explanation not only of the disconnected character of the Sayings in part of the collection, but of the repetition of the formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς before each one. It is now clear that **654** was meant by the editor to be regarded as an independent literary work, complete in itself; and though it is not necessary to accept it as such, those who wish to maintain that the collection is something quite different from what it purports to be must be prepared to explain how the introduction comes to be there. Hence we think that no theory of the origin of the Sayings as a whole is to be considered satisfactory unless it at the same time provides a reasonable explanation of the fact that some one not later than the middle of the second century published the Sayings as specially connected with St. Thomas (and perhaps another disciple), and that the collection attained sufficient importance for it to be read, and presumably accepted as genuine, in the chief towns of Upper Egypt in the century following. This contention, if it be generally acknowledged, will be an important criterion in discussing the merits of the different theories.

We begin therefore with a brief enumeration of the different Gospels to which **1** has been referred, premising that all theories in favour of extracts have now to face at the outset a difficult, and to some of them, we think, an insurmountable obstacle in the shape of the introduction in **654**. Of these the most generally accepted is probably that maintained with all his usual brilliant powers of analysis by Harnack (*Die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*), that **1** consisted of extracts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. The question was, however, complicated by the extremely divergent views held concerning that Gospel, to which only one passage of any length can be assigned with certainty. At one extreme stands Harnack's view that this with the Gospel according to the Hebrews was the Gospel first used in Egypt, that it was not really heretical, and that it is the source of the non-canonical Sayings found in the Second Epistle of Clement. At the other extreme is the view of Resch (*Agrapha*, pp. 316–9), that the Gospel according to the Egyptians was not used by the author of the Second Epistle of Clement, and that it was thoroughly Gnostic and Encratite, as Origen and Epiphanius declared; the view of Zahn (*Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. pp. 628 sqq.), which seems to us the most reasonable, stands midway between, assigning to this Gospel neither the importance given to it by Harnack nor the heretical character ascribed to it by Resch, with whom, however, Zahn is in accord in considering that it was not used by the author of II Clem. Disagreeing as we do with Harnack's view of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, we have never been able to regard his explanation of **1** as satisfactory, and the insecurity of his hypothesis is illustrated by the attempt of Mr. Badham (*Athenaeum*, Aug. 7, 1897), from a point of view not far from that of Resch, to reach the same conclusion. The evidence of **654** provides fresh objections to the theory. There is no direct point of contact between **654** and the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and where one of the uncanonical Sayings happens to be known, it occurs not in this Gospel but in that according to the Hebrews. There is, indeed, more to be said for regarding **654** as extracts from the latter Gospel, as was suggested in the case of **1** by Batiffol (*Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 515) and Davidson (*Internat. Journ. of Ethics*, Oct. 1897), than from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. In their divergence from the Canonical Gospels, the striking character of much of the

new matter, the Hebraic parallelisms of expression, the Sayings are quite in keeping with the style of the most venerable and important of all the uncanonical Gospels, which is known to have been written originally in Hebrew, and which is now generally regarded as independent of the four Canonical Gospels. To these points of connexion has now to be added the far more solid piece of evidence afforded by the 1st Saying in **654**. There remain indeed the objections (cf. *Sayings of our Lord*, p. 17) that the Gospel according to the Hebrews would be expected to show greater resemblance to St. Matthew than we find in **1** and **654**, which is even further away from St. Matthew's Gospel than **1**, and secondly that the Johannine colouring traceable in the new Sayings is foreign to the extant fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which seems to have been quite parallel to the Synoptists. But on the other hand, if Harnack is right (*Gesch. d. Altchrist. Lit.* ii. pp. 646–8) in supposing that the resemblance of this Gospel to St. Luke's was not much less marked than its resemblance to St. Matthew's, the points of contact between the Sayings and St. Luke, which are at least as strong as these with St. Matthew, constitute no great difficulty. And it is quite possible that the Gospel according to the Hebrews had a mystical side which is revealed to us occasionally (as e.g. in the curious passage in which Jesus speaks of his 'mother, the Holy Ghost,' and in the Saying found also in **654**), but which owing to the paucity of references has hitherto been underestimated. A far graver and in fact almost fatal objection, however, to regarding the Sayings as extracts culled from either the Gospel according to the Hebrews or the Gospel according to the Egyptians is the irreconcilability of such a view with the introduction of **654**. It is very difficult to believe that an editor would have had the boldness to issue extracts from such widely known works as an independent collection of Sayings claiming the authority of Thomas and perhaps another disciple. Even if we supply Ματθαίῳ at the end of **654**. 2 and suppose that the mention of Thomas is of quite secondary importance, it is very hard to supply a reasonable motive for issuing a series of extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews with such a preface as we find in **654**, and to account for the popularity of these supposed extracts in the century following their publication. We are therefore on the whole opposed to the view, attractive though it undoubtedly is, that the Sayings are all directly derived from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. But that there is a connexion between them is certain, and it is significant that the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria, in which work Mayor (*ap.* Rendel Harris, *Contemp. Rev.* 1897, pp. 344–5) has with much probability detected references to the 2nd Logion (cf. the parallels adduced on p. 7), are also the source of the quotation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is closely parallel to the 1st Saying. It is not at all unlikely that the 2nd Logion ('Except ye fast') also presented a strong similarity to a passage in the same Gospel.

The obstacle which prevents us from accepting the Gospel according to the Hebrews as the source of all the Sayings, in spite of the evidence in favour of such a view, applies with equal force to Zahn's hypothesis that they were derived from the Gospel of the Ebionites or Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, which is open to grave objections on other grounds. The instances adduced by Zahn to show the use of collections of extracts in the second century, (1) a series of ἐκλογαί from the Old Testament composed by Melito of Sardis, and (2) a list of heretical passages from the Gospel of Peter appended to a letter by Serapion, were singularly inapt even as regards **1** (cf. Sanday, *Two Lectures*, p. 45, note), and still less bear any relation to **654**. Even admitting for the sake of argument Zahn's theory of the relation of the Gospel of the Ebionites to the Gospel according to the Hebrews (on which Harnack throws doubts, *op. cit.* ii. p. 626), and his proposed date for **1**, about A.D. 170 (which has generally been regarded as too late), and for the Gospel

of the Ebionites (which if we follow Harnack, *op. cit.* ii. p. 631, is too early), the character of the extant fragments of this thoroughly Gnostic Jewish-Christian Gospel is very different from that of **1** and **654**, to say nothing of the other arguments against Zahn's theory brought by Dr. Sanday in *Two Lectures*, p. 46.

The views which we have discussed so far have, whether satisfactory or not on other grounds, all been confronted by the initial difficulty of the introduction. Let us now examine those Gospels ascribed to disciples whose names either occur or may with reasonable probability be supposed to have occurred in ll. 2–3. It is obvious that the introduction would suit a series of extracts from e.g. the Gospel of Thomas much better than one from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The Gospel of Thomas is known to have existed in more than one form, namely as an account of Jesus' childhood which is extant in several late recensions of varying length, and as an earlier Gospel condemned by Hippolytus in the following passage (*Refut.* v. 7) *οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτῶν ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν φασὶ* (sc. the Naassenes) *τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων μυστήρια ἀλλὰ καὶ Φρυγῶν περὶ τὴν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων καὶ ἐσομένων ἔτι μακαρίαν κρυβομένην ὁμοῦ καὶ φανερουμένην φύσιν ἥνπερ φησὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην, περὶ ἧς διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδιδόασι λέγοντες οὕτως· ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὑρήσει ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἑτῶν ἑπτά· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι.* Here we have two remarkable points of contact with **654**, the mention of Thomas coupled with the *ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλεία* (cf. the 2nd Saying).

The parallels between **1** and one of the later forms of the Thomas Gospel have been worked out with great ingenuity and elaboration by Dr. Taylor on pp. 90–8 of *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*. There is much to be said for his view that the extant Gospel of Thomas contains some traces of **1**, and the probability would be increased if **1**, which Dr. Taylor was inclined to regard as extracts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, be supposed to be derived from the earlier Gospel of Thomas. **654** does not seem to contain any clear points of connexion with the later Gospel of Thomas, but this is compensated for by the remarkable parallel from Hippolytus quoted above. It is moreover noteworthy, as Mr. Badham remarks, that the Acts of Thomas, which may well have been partly built upon the Gospel, exhibit a knowledge of that Saying which occurs both in the Gospel according to the Hebrews and in **654**, and that, as Prof. Lake informs us, an Athos MS. (*Studia Biblica*, v. 2, p. 173) asserts that the *περικοπή* of Christ and the woman taken in adultery (which has found its way from the Gospel according to the Hebrews into St. John's Gospel) occurred in the Gospel of Thomas. But there are serious objections to regarding **1** and **654** as extracts from that Gospel. In the first place though it is possible that Thomas is the only disciple mentioned in the introduction, it is equally possible that he stood second, and in that case the Gospel from which the Sayings may have been extracted is more likely to have been one which went under the name of the person who stood first; though indeed, if there were two disciples mentioned in the introduction, it is not very satisfactory to derive the Sayings from any Gospel which went under the name of only one. A much greater difficulty arises from the divergence of the Sayings from what little is known about the earlier Gospel of Thomas. The saying quoted by Hippolytus is widely removed in character from those in **1** and **654**, and it is significant that, though the doctrine of aeons seems to be known to the author of the Gospel of Thomas, **654** employs in l. 24 the neutral word *τόπος* in a passage in which *αἰών*, as is shown by the parallel from the Apocalypse of Peter, would have been highly appropriate, if the composer of the Sayings had known of or been influenced by that doctrine. The Gospel of Thomas, which Harnack thinks was known to Irenaeus, is indeed placed before A.D. 180, but from

the quotation in Hippolytus, coupled with the form of the Gospel in later times and the scanty evidence from other sources, it has been considered to have been mainly at any rate a Gospel of the childhood and of an advanced Gnostic character. If the Sayings are to be derived from it, the current view of the Gospel of Thomas must be entirely changed; and it is very doubtful whether this can be done except by postulating the existence of an original Thomas Gospel behind that condemned by Hippolytus. This would lead us into a region of pure conjecture into which we are unwilling to enter, at any rate until other less hazardous roads to a solution are closed. That there is a connexion between the earlier Gospel of Thomas and the Sayings is extremely likely, but this can be better explained by supposing that the Sayings influenced the Gospel than by the hypothesis that the Gospel is the source of the Sayings.

The Gospel of Philip, which is assigned by Zahn to the beginning of the second century, by Harnack to the second century or first half of the third, would, even if it were certain that Φιλίππῳ occurred in **654**. 2, be an unsuitable source for the Sayings. The extract quoted from it by Epiphanius shows much more highly developed ascetic and Gnostic tendencies than can be found in **1** and **654**.

The only other Apocryphal Gospels which seem to be worth consideration are the works connected with Matthias, of which there are three; (1) the παραδόσεις of Matthias, a few extracts from which are cited by Clement of Alexandria, (2) a Gospel according to Matthias mentioned by Origen, and (3) certain λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι in use among the Basilidians which are thus described by Hippolytus (*Refut.* vii. 20) Βασιλείδης τοίνυν καὶ Ἰσίδωρος . . . φασὶν εἰρηκέναι Ματθίαν αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀποκρύφους, οὓς ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος κατ' ἰδίαν διδαχθείς. The nature of these three works and their relation to each other are very uncertain. Zahn considers all three to be identical; Harnack, who at first (*op. cit.* i. p. 18) was disposed to accept the identity of (1) and (2), subsequently (*op. cit.* ii. p. 597) reverts to the view that these two at any rate were distinct. The suggestion that the παραδόσεις of Matthias might be the source of **1** was thrown out by Dr. James (*Contemp. Rev.* Aug. 1897), only to be immediately rejected on the ground of the dissimilarity of form between **1** and the extant fragments of the παραδόσεις, which seem to have been a work of a mainly homiletic character. The παραδόσεις are now altogether excluded from the likely sources of the Sayings owing to the fact that Clement quotes an extract from them, θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα, side by side with the very citation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is parallel to the 1st Saying. Of the Gospel according to Matthias practically nothing is known except its name; the hypothesis that it is the source of the Sayings is therefore incapable of proof or disproof, but being based on pure conjecture has nothing to oppose to the antecedent improbability (cf. p. 16) that the Sayings are something quite different from what they profess to be. There remain the λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι mentioned by Hippolytus. The occurrence of the word λόγοι suggests a connexion with the Sayings, but this cannot easily be carried much further. The λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι were, according to Hippolytus, revealed to Matthias κατ' ἰδίαν, whereas if Matthias occurred at all in the introduction, it was in conjunction with Thomas. The particular Gnostic ontological speculations which according to Hippolytus were found in these λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι belong to another plane of thought from that found in the Sayings; but the question is complicated by the confused and untrustworthy character of Hippolytus' discussion of the Basilidians, vii. 20 being among the most suspicious passages. And even if there were a connexion between these λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι of Matthias and the Sayings, this would bring us no nearer to a proof that the Sayings were extracts from a narrative Gospel rather than a collection of Sayings as such. There is moreover another objection to connecting the Sayings with any work professedly under the name of Matthias, because

such a view would necessarily entail the supposition that the Sayings are post-resurrectional; and this for the reasons given on pp. 12–3 we do not think justifiable.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that no one of the known uncanonical Gospels is a suitable source for the Sayings as a whole. Shall we regard them as a series of extracts from several of these Gospels, as was suggested with respect to **1** by Dr. James? So long as the discussion was confined to **1**, such an explanation from its vagueness was almost beyond the reach of criticism. The recovery of **654** alters the situation. On the one hand the occurrence of a Saying, which is known to have been also found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, side by side with other Sayings which it is difficult to ascribe to the same source, rather favours the theory of an eclectic series derived from different Gospels. But the introduction connecting the Sayings with particular disciples is not very suitable for such a collection which *ex hypothesi* is of an altogether miscellaneous character; and it would be difficult for any one to maintain that the Sayings are derived from several Apocryphal Gospels and at the same time in face of the mention of Thomas to deny that one of the chief elements was the Gospel of Thomas. But the inclusion of the Gospel of Thomas among the sources of the Sayings to a large extent involves the hypothesis of extracts from several Gospels in the difficulties which are discussed on pp. 18–9.

The result of an examination in the light of **654** of the various theories that the immediate source of **1** was one or more of the known non-canonical Gospels confirms us in the view that the solution does not lie in that direction, and that the Sayings are much more likely to be a source utilized in one or more of the uncanonical Gospels, than vice versa. The probability of the general explanation of **1** which we suggested in 1897 and which has been supported, amongst others, by Drs. Swete, Rendel Harris, Sanday, Lock, and Heinrici, that it was part of a collection of Sayings as such, is largely increased by the discovery of **654**, with its introduction to the whole collection stating that it was a collection of λόγοι, which was obviously intended to stand as an independent literary work. In fact we doubt if theories of extracts are any longer justifiable; and in any case such explanations will henceforth be placed at the initial disadvantage of starting with an assumption which is distinctly contradicted by the introduction of **654**. It is of course possible to explain away this introduction, but unless very strong reasons can be adduced for doing so, the simpler and far safer course is to accept the editor's statement that **654**, to which, as we have said, **1** is closely allied, is a collection of λόγοι Ἰησοῦ.

The opinions of those critics who agreed with our general explanation of **1** as against the various theories of extracts may be divided into two classes: (1) those who regarded **1** as a collection of Sayings independent of the Gospels and belonging to the first century, and who therefore were disposed to admit to a greater or less extent and with much varying degrees of confidence the presence of genuine elements in the new matter (Drs. Swete, Rendel Harris, Lock, and Heinrici); (2) those who, like Dr. Sanday, regarded the new Sayings in **1** as the product of the early second century, not directly dependent on the Canonical Gospels, but having 'their origin under conditions of thought which these Gospels had created' (Sanday, *op. cit.* p. 41), a view which necessarily carries with it the rejection of the new matter. It remains to ask how far **654** helps to decide the points at issue in favour of either side.

With regard to the relation of **654** to the Canonical Gospels, the proportion of new and old matter is about the same as in **1**, and the parallels to the Canonical Gospels in **654** exhibit the same freedom of treatment, which can be explained either as implying independence of the Canonical Gospels, or as the liberties taken by an early redactor. The introduction in **654** contains a clearer parallel to St. John's Gospel than anything

to be found in **1**; but even if it be conceded (and there is good reason for not conceding it; cf. p. 11) that the introduction implied a knowledge of St. John's Gospel, and was therefore probably composed in the second century, the Sayings themselves can (and, as we shall show, do) contain at any rate some elements which are not derived from the Canonical Gospels, and go back to the first century. So far as the evidence of **654** goes, there is nothing to cause any one to renounce opinions which he may have formed concerning the relation of **1** to the Canonical Gospels. No one who feels certain on this point with regard to the one, is likely to be convinced of the incorrectness of his view by the other.

Secondly, with regard to the new matter in **654**, the uncertainties attaching to the restoration and meaning of most of the 2nd, the earlier part of the 3rd, and all the 5th Saying, unfortunately prevent them from being of much use for purposes of critical analysis. Unless by the aid of new parallels the satisfactory restoration of these three Sayings can be carried beyond the point which we have been able to reach, their remains hardly provide a firm basis for estimating their individual value, still less that of the collection as a whole, each Saying of which has a right to consideration on its own merits. Only with regard to the 1st Saying are we on sure ground. Concerning this striking *Agraphon* the most diverse opinions have been held. Resch, a usually indulgent critic of the uncanonical Sayings ascribed to our Lord, rejects it as spurious; Ropes on the other hand, though far more exacting, is inclined to accept it as genuine, but on account of the absence of widely attested authority for it does not put it in his highest class of genuine Sayings which includes 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' The judgement of Ropes upon *Agrapha* has generally been regarded as far sounder than that of Resch; and much of Resch's unfavourable criticism of this Saying is beside the mark (Harnack now regards it as primary; cf. p. 5), while the occurrence of the Saying in **654** is a new argument for its authority. But whatever view be taken of its authenticity, and however the connexion between **654** and the Gospel according to the Hebrews is to be explained, the 1st Saying in **654** establishes one important fact. Dr. Sanday may be right in regarding A.D. 100 as the *terminus a quo* for the composition of **1**, and the same *terminus a quo* can of course be assigned to **654** in the sense that the Sayings were not put together and the introduction not written before that date. But, if we may accept the agreement of the leading theologians that the Gospel of the Hebrews was written in the first century, it is impossible any longer to deny that **654** and therefore, as we maintain, **1**, contain some non-canonical elements which directly or indirectly go back to the first century; and the existence of first century elements in one case certainly increases the probability of their presence in others. In this respect, therefore, **654** provides a remarkable confirmation of the views of those critics who were prepared to allow a first century date for **1**.

Are we then, adapting to **654** Dr. Sanday's view of **1** with the fewest possible modifications, to regard the whole collection as a free compilation in the early part of the second century, by an Alexandrian Jewish-Christian, of Sayings ultimately derived from the Canonical Gospels, and very likely the Gospels according to the Hebrews and Thomas, and perhaps others as well; and shall we dismiss the new elements, except the 1st Saying in **654**, as the spurious accretions of an age of philosophic speculation, and surroundings of dubious orthodoxy? Even so the two papyri are of great interest as revealing a hitherto unknown development of primitive belief upon the nature of Christ's teaching, and supplying new and valuable evidence for determining the relationship of the uncanonical Gospels to the main current of orthodox Christianity. Or are we rather to consider **1** and **654** to be fragments of an early collection of our Lord's Sayings in a form which has

been influenced to some extent by the thought and literature of the apostolic and post-apostolic age, and which may well itself have influenced the Gospel of Thomas and perhaps others of the heretical Gospels, but which is ultimately connected in a large measure with a first-hand source other than that of any of the Canonical Gospels? Some such view has been maintained by scholars of eminence, e.g. Heinrici and Rendel Harris, with regard to **1**; and if the claim made by the editor of the collection in his introduction, that his source was St. Thomas and perhaps another disciple, amounts to but little more, the internal evidence of **654** provides no obvious reason why we should concede him much less; while the occurrence of one uncanonical Saying, which is already known to be of extreme antiquity and has been accepted as substantially genuine by several critics, lends considerable support to the others which rest on the evidence of **654** and **1** alone.

That is as far as we are prepared to go; for a really weighty and perfectly unbiassed estimate of the ultimate value of any new discovery, resort must be made to some other quarter than the discoverers. We conclude by pointing out that, if the view with regard to **1** and **654** which we have just indicated is on the right lines, the analogy of this collection has an obvious bearing on the question of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels, and that the mystical and speculative element in the early records of Christ's Sayings which found its highest and most widely accepted expression in St. John's Gospel, may well have been much more general and less peculiarly Johannine than has hitherto been taken for granted.

655. Fragment of a Lost Gospel.

Fr. (*b*) 8·2 × 8·3 *cm.* Plate II.

Eight fragments of a papyrus in roll form containing an uncanonical Gospel, the largest (*b*) comprising parts of the middles of two narrow columns. None of the other fragments actually joins (*b*), but it is practically certain that the relation to it of Frs. (*a*) and (*c*), which come from the tops of columns, is as indicated in the Plate. Frs. (*d*) and (*e*), both of which have a margin below the writing, probably belong to the bottom of the same two columns which are partly preserved in (*b*); but how much is lost in the interval is uncertain. Since the upper portion of Col. i admits of a sure restoration of the majority of the lacunae, the first 23 lines are nearly complete; but the remains of the second column are for the most part too slight for the sense to be recovered. The handwriting is a small uncial of the common sloping oval type, which in most cases belongs to the third century, among securely dated examples being **23** (P. Oxy. I. Plate vi), **223** (P. Oxy. II. Plate i), **420** (P. Oxy. III. Plate vi), P. Amh. II. 12 (Plate iii). But this kind of hand is found in the second century, e.g. **26** (P. Oxy. I. Plate vii), **447** (P. Oxy. III. Plate vi), and continued in the fourth; for late third or fourth century examples see P. Amh. I. 3 (*b*) (Part II. Plate xxv) and **404** (P. Oxy. III. Plate iv). **655** is a well-written specimen,

suggesting, on the whole, the earlier rather than the later period during which this hand was in vogue, and though we should not assign it to the second century, it is not likely to have been written later than A.D. 250. Lines 1–16 ὑμῶν give the conclusion of a speech of Jesus which is parallel to several sentences in the Sermon on the Mount. Then follows (ll. 17–23) an account of a question put to Him by the disciples and of the answer. This, the most important part of the papyrus, is new, but bears an interesting resemblance to a known quotation from the Gospel according to the Egyptians; cf. note *ad loc.* A passage in Col. ii seems to be parallel to Luke xi. 52. On the general questions concerning the nature and origin of the Gospel to which the fragment belonged see pp. 27–8. In ll. 7–11 of the text the division between Frs. (*a*) and (*b*) is indicated by double vertical lines ||. No stops, breathings, or accents are used, but a wedge-shaped sign for filling up short lines occurs in l. 27 and a correction in a cursive hand in l. 25. An interchange of ει and η causes the form ειλικιαν in l. 14, and l. 13 requires some correction.

The key to the general restoration of ll. 1–3 was supplied by Mr. Badham, that to ll. 41–6 by Dr. Bartlet.

Col. i.

(*a*) [. . .]Π̣Ο ΠΡΩΙ Ę[. . . . .
[. . . .]Є Ạ̣Φ ЄСΠ[. . . . .
[. . . .]ΡΩΙ ΜΗΤЄ [. . .
[. . . . . .]ΜΩΝ ΤΙ ΦẠ[
5 [. . . . . .] ΤΗ СΤ[.
[. . . . . .] Ṭ̣Ι ЄΝΔỲ[.
(*b*) [. .]Ç̣ΘĘ||[. . .]ΛΩ ΚΡĘ!̣[.
[. . .]Ę̣Ç . ||[. . .] ΤΩΝ [. .
ΝΩṆ ΑΤΙ||[. . .]ΥΞΑ[.
10 ΝЄΙ ΟΥẠЄ Ṇ||[. .]Ę! . [.
ЄΝ Ę̣X̣Ọ̣ΝΤ||[. . .]Ṇ̣Ạ[.
ΜΑ Τ! Ę̣Ν[. . . .] ΚΑΙ
ΥΜЄΙС ΤΙС ΑΝ ΠΡΟСΘḤ
ЄΠΙ ΤΗΝ ЄΙΛΙΚΙΑΝ
15 ΥΜΩΝ ΑΥΤΟ[. .]ΩСЄΙ
ΥΜЄΙΝ ΤΟ ЄΝΔΥΜΑ Υ
ΜΩΝ ΛЄΓΟΥСΙΝ ΑΥ
ΤΩ ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΠΟΤЄ ΗΜЄΙΝ ЄΜΦΑ
20 ΝΗС ЄСЄΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤЄ
СЄ ΟΨΟΜЄΘΑ ΛЄΓЄΙ

Col. ii.

(*c*) Θ
30 ΛЄ[
Ο[
ΤẠ[
ΓΥ[
ΚẠ[
35 Ν . [
ΚΑ[
ΗṂ[
С!̣[
[
40 [
(*b*) ЄΛ[
ΤΗС [
ΚΡΥΨ[
ЄΙСΗẠ[
45 ЄΙСЄΡ[
ΚΑΝ[
ΔЄ ΓЄΙ[
ΜΟΙΩ[
ΚЄΡΑΙ[

ΟΤΑΝ ЄΚΔΥCΗCΘЄ ΚΑΙ
ΜΗ ΑΙCΧΥΝΘΗΤЄ
. . . . . .

50 Ρ̣Α̣[
. . . .

(*d*) . . . .
]Τ̣Ι̣Ν
ε
25]ωΤΙΝω
]Ο̣CΜω
]Η
]CΤΙΝ̣

(*e*) . . .
ΚΟ[

(*f*) . . .
]Κ̣Α[
. . .

(*g*) . . .
]Κ . [
]Α̣Ι̣[
. . .

(*h*) . . .
]Є[
. . .

[. . ἀ]πὸ πρωὶ ἕ[ως ὀψὲ
[μήτ]ε ἀφ' ἑσπ[έρας
[ἕως π]ρωὶ μήτε [τῇ
[τροφῇ ὑ]μῶν τί φά-
5 [γητε μήτε] τῇ στ[ο-
[λῇ ὑμῶν] τί ἐνδύ-
[ση]σθε. [πολ]λῷ κρεί[σ-
[σον]ές [ἐστε] τῶν [κρί-
νων ἅτι[να α]ὐξά-
10 νει οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ε̣ι̣ . [.
ἓν ἔχοντ[ες ἔ]νδ[υ-
μα τί ἐν[. . . .] καὶ
ὑμεῖς; τίς ἂν προσθ⟨εί⟩η
ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν
15 ὑμῶν; αὐτὸ[ς δ]ώσει
ὑμῖν τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑ-
μῶν. λέγουσιν αὐ-
τῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·
πότε ἡμῖν ἐμφα-
20 νὴς ἔσει καὶ πότε
σε ὀψόμεθα; λέγει·
ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ
μὴ αἰσχυνθῆτε,
. . . .

. . . .
41 ἔλ[εγε· τὴν κλεῖδα
τῆς [γνώσεως ἐ-
κρύψ[ατε· αὐτοὶ οὐκ
εἰσήλ[θατε, καὶ τοῖς
45 εἰσερ[χομένοις οὐ-
κ ἀν[εῴξατε . . . .
. . . .

1–23. '(Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat or for your raiment what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack?) . . . Who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto him, When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee? He saith, When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed . . .'

41–6. '. . . He said, The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves and to them that were entering in ye opened not.'

1–7. Cf. Matt. vi. 25 *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύσησθε. οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖόν ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος*;, Luke xii. 22–3 *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ τί φάγητε μηδὲ τῷ σώματι τί ἐνδύσησθε. ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πλεῖόν ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος.* The papyrus probably had *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε* at the beginning of the sentence but differs (1) by the addition of *ἀπὸ πρωὶ . . . ἕως πρωί*, (2) by the use of a different word for *σῶμα* and probably for *ψυχή*, though it is possible that *τῷ σώματι* or *τῇ ψυχῇ* preceded *ἀπὸ πρωί* in l. 1, (3) by the omission of the second half of the Saying as recorded in the Gospels. In ll. 1–2 there is not room for *ἑ[σπέ]ρας μήτ]ε. στ[ολῇ* in ll. 5–6 is not quite the word that would be expected, being used in the New Testament for grand 'robes' rather than a plain garment, but if the division *τη στ[* is correct *στολή* cannot be avoided, and with the reading *της τ[* it is difficult to find any suitable word; cf. also e.g. **839** *ἦλθέ μοι γυμνὸς . . . ἠγόρασα αὐτῶι στολήν.*

7–13. Cf. Matt. vi. 28 *καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε; καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ πῶς αὐξάνουσιν· οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομὼν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἓν τούτων*, Luke xii. 27 *κατανοήσατε τὰ κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ.* and Matt. vi. 26 *οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν πετεινῶν*); Luke xii. 24 *πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς διαφέρετε τῶν πετεινῶν.* The corresponding passage in the papyrus is not only much shorter, but varies considerably, though to what extent is not quite clear owing to the uncertainty attaching to the restoration of ll. 10–2. Our reasons for placing Fr. (*a*) in the particular relation to Fr. (*b*) indicated on Plate II are the facts (1) that Fr. (*a*) is from the top of a column which is presumably, judging by the general appearance and lacunae in Fr. (*a*), Col. i of Fr. (*b*); (2) that though there is nothing in the external appearance of Fr. (*a*) to show that it contains any actual ends of lines, the connexion of ll. 8–9 and 9–10 which results from our proposed combination of the two fragments, *τῶν [κρί]νων* and *α]ὐξά[νει*, is so suitable to the context that it is unlikely to be fortuitous. The connexion of ll. 10–1 and 11–2 is, however, more difficult. With the readings and punctuation which we have adopted *εν* in l. 12 suggests nothing but *ἐν[δεῖτε]*, which does not suit *τί*, and there are many points of uncertainty. At the end of l. 10 the letter before Ι is more like Γ, C, or T than Є, so that *οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει* (cf. Luke xii. 27) is not very satisfactory. ΜΑΤΙΟΝ can be read in l. 12, and would in the context be expected to be the termination of a word meaning 'garment'; but with the reading *[ἱ]μάτιον* it is hard to explain the vestiges of the two letters on l. 11 of Fr. (*a*), which suit respectively a straight letter such as Η, Ι, Μ or Ν and Δ or, less probably, Α or Λ. *ἐνδυμάτιον*, a rare word not found in the N. T., but not inappropriate here, is possible; but *ἓν ἔχοντ[ες ἐ]νδ[υ]μάτιόν [ἐστε]* is unlikely. It is also possible to connect *καὶ ὑμεῖς* with *τίς* instead of with the preceding words, but this does not help towards making the restoration of ll. 10–2 easier. These difficulties could be avoided by supposing that Fr. (*a*) is to be placed much higher up in relation to Fr. (*b*), but this involves the sacrifice of any direct connexion between Frs. (*a*) and (*b*), and ll. 8–9 and 9–10 afford very strong grounds for our proposed combination of the two fragments.

13–5. Cf. Matt. vi. 27 *τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν*

ἕνα;, and Luke xii. 25 *τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι πῆχυν*; The papyrus version is somewhat shorter, omitting *μεριμνῶν* and *πῆχυν*. The position in which this Saying is found in the papyrus is also slightly different from that in the Gospels, where it immediately precedes instead of following the verse about the *κρίνα*. In l. 13 *προσθει⟨η⟩* could be read in place of *προσθ⟨ει⟩η*: there does not seem to be room for *προσθει[η]*.

15–6. Cf. Matt. vi. 31–3 *μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες τί φάγωμεν ἢ τί πίωμεν ἢ τί περιβαλώμεθα . . . οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων ἁπάντων. ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν*, and Luke xii. 29–31, which is nearly identical and proceeds *μὴ φοβοῦ τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον ὅτι εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν*. The papyrus has the corresponding idea but expressed with extreme conciseness. *αὐτὸ[ς δ]ώσει*, unless *δώσει* is an error for *δώσω*, raises a difficulty, for we should expect *ὁ πατήρ* or *ὁ θεός*. Apparently *αὐτός* refers back to *πατήρ* or *θεός* in the column preceding, or the author of the Gospel may have here incorporated from some source a Saying without its context which would have explained *αὐτός* (cf. **654**. 32).

17–23. For the question cf. John xiv. 19 sqq. *ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκέτι θεωρεῖ· ὑμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με· ὅτι ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσετε . . . . λέγει αὐτῷ Ἰούδας . . . κύριε, τί γέγονεν ὅτι ἡμῖν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτὸν καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κόσμῳ; ἀπεκρίθη . . . ἐάν τις ἀγαπᾷ με τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσει καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα*. The answer ascribed in the papyrus to Jesus bears a striking resemblance to the answer made to a similar question in a passage of the Gospel according to the Egyptians which is referred to several times by Clement of Alexandria, and which is reconstructed by Harnack (*Chronol.* i. p. 13) thus:—*τῇ Σαλώμῃ πυνθανομένῃ μέχρι πότε θάνατος ἰσχύσει εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· μέχρις ἂν ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτετε. ἦλθον γὰρ καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη ἔφη αὐτῷ· καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα; ὁ δὲ κύριος ἠμείψατο λέγων· πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσαν μὴ φάγῃς. πυνθανομένης δὲ τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο ἔφη ὁ κύριος· ὅταν οὖν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ*. Cf. II Clem. 12. 2 *ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπό τινος πότε ἥξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία εἶπεν· ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἕν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ*. Both *ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆτε* and *ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε* express the same idea, a mystical reference to Gen. iii. 7, 'And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and they were not ashamed,' the meaning in either case being that Christ's kingdom on earth would not be manifested until man had returned to the state of innocence which existed before the Fall, and in which sexual ideas and relations had no place. The chief differences between the two passages are (1) the setting, the questioner being in the Gospel according to the Egyptians Salome, and in the papyrus the disciples, (2) the simpler language of the papyrus as contrasted with the more literary and elaborated phrase *τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε*, (3) the absence in the papyrus of the Encratite tendency found in the earlier part of the quotation from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. On the relation between the two see p. 27. Whether the papyrus continued after *αἰσχυνθῆτε* with something like *καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν, κ.τ.λ.*, is of course uncertain, but Fr. (*d*), which probably belongs to the bottom of this column, is concerned with something different.

25. *φ]ωτεινῷ*: the corrector's spelling *φωτεινός* is commoner than *φωτινός*. Perhaps this passage was parallel to Matt. vi. 22–3 (Sermon on the Mount) *ἐὰν ᾖ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.*; cf. Luke xi. 34–6. But the papyrus must in any case have differed largely in its language, and *κ]όσμῳ* (?) in l. 26 suggests a Johannine colouring.

30. The Λ of ΛΕ[projects somewhat, but since the whole column trends to the left, probably no importance is to be attached to the circumstance; cf. the initial *δ* in l. 47.

42–6. With the remains of these lines Bartlet well compares Luke xi. 52 *οὐαὶ*

ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς ὅτι ἤρατε (D and some MSS. ἐκρύψατε) τὴν κλεῖδα (D κλεῖν) τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ (D and some MSS. καὶ αὐτοί) οὐκ εἰσήλθατε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους (D εἰσπορευομένους) ἐκωλύσατε, on which our restorations are based. If they are in the right direction, the papyrus agreed with D in having ἐκρύψατε in place of ἤρατε, but with the other uncials against D in having a participle of εἰσέρχεσθαι not of εἰσπορεύεσθαι, while D's reading καὶ αὐτοί is too long for l. 43. But the papyrus certainly differed from all the MSS. in l. 46 and probably in l. 42, where τῆς γνώσεως ε makes a line of only 11 letters, which is a little too short, so that perhaps either a different word from γνώσεως (ἀληθείας?) or a compound of ἐκρύψατε is to be supplied.

51. Below ΚΟ[is what seems to be an accidental spot of ink rather than part of a letter.

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655 seems to belong to a Gospel which was closely similar in point of form to the Synoptists. The narrator speaks in the third person, not in the first, and the portion preserved consists mainly of discourses which are to a large extent parallel to passages in Matthew and Luke, especially the latter Gospel, which alone seems to be connected with ll. 41 sqq. The papyrus version is, as a rule, shorter than the corresponding passages in the Gospels; where it is longer (ll. 1–3) the expansion does not alter the meaning in any way. The chief interest lies in the question of the disciples and its answer, both of which so closely correspond to a passage in the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the uncanonical Gospel or collection of Sayings used by the author of the Second Epistle of Clement, that the Gospel of which **655** is a fragment clearly belongs to the same sphere of thought. Does it actually belong to either of those works, which, though Harnack regards them as one and the same, are, we think, more probably to be considered distinct? In the Gospel according to the Egyptians Salome was the questioner who occasioned the remarkable Saying beginning ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε, and it is much more likely that **655** presents a different version of the same incident in another Gospel, than a repetition of the Salome question in a slightly different form in another part of the Gospel according to the Egyptians. Nor is **655** likely to be the actual Gospel which the author of II Clem. was quoting. It is unfortunate that owing to the papyrus breaking off at αἰσχυνθῆτε there is no security that ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν, or at any rate something very similar, did not follow, and the omission in the Clement passage of a phrase corresponding to ll. 22–3 may be a mere accident. But the fact that the question in II Clem. is worded somewhat differently (πότε ἥξει ἡ βασιλεία), and is put into the mouth of τις instead of the disciples, as in **655**, is a good reason for rejecting the hypothesis that the two works were identical.

The evidence of **655** as to its origin being thus largely of a negative character, we do not propose to discuss in detail whether it is likely to belong to any of the other known Apocryphal Gospels. There are several to which it might be assigned, but direct evidence is wanting. If the Gospel according to the Hebrews were thought of, it would be necessary to suppose that the resemblances in **655** to Matthew and Luke did not imply dependence upon them. In its relation to the Canonical Gospels **655** somewhat resembles **654**, and the view that **655** was, though no doubt at least secondary, dependent not on Matthew and Luke, but upon some other document, whether behind the Synoptists or merely parallel to them, is tenable, but is less likely to commend itself to the majority of critics than the opposite hypothesis that **655**. 1–16 is ultimately an abridgement of Matthew and Luke with considerable alterations. In either case the freedom with which the author of this Gospel handles the material grouped by St. Matthew and St. Luke under the Sermon

on the Mount is remarkable. The Gospel from which **655** comes is likely to have been composed in Egypt before A.D. 150, and to have stood in intimate relation to the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the uncanonical source used by the author of II Clem. Whether it was earlier or later than these is not clear. The answer to the question put by the disciples in **655** is couched in much simpler and clearer language than that of the corresponding sentence in the answer to Salome recorded in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the point of which is liable to be missed, while the meaning of **655**. 22–3 is unmistakable. But the greater directness of the allusion to Gen. iii. 7 in **655** can be explained either by supposing that the version in the Gospel according to the Egyptians is an Encratite amplification of that in **655**, or, almost but not quite as well, in our opinion, by the view that the expression in **655** is a toning down of the more striking phrase *ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε*. As for the priority of **655** to the source of the uncanonical quotations in II Clem., the evidence is not sufficient to form any conclusion.

There remains the question of the likelihood of a genuine element in the story of which we now have three versions, though how far these are independent of each other is uncertain. As is usual with *Agrapha* (cf. p. 21), the most diverse opinions have been held about the two previously known passages. Zahn (*Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. p. 635) defends the version in the Gospel according to the Egyptians from the charge of Encratitism, and is inclined to admit its genuineness. Resch on the other hand (*Agrapha*, p. 386), while accepting the version of Clement, vehemently attacks the other. Ropes again takes a different view, and though he thinks (*Die Sprüche Jesu*, p. 131) that *ὅταν . . . πατήσητε* is too ascetic for Jesus, is disposed to believe in a kernel of genuineness in the story. The criticisms of both Zahn and Ropes, however, are now somewhat discounted by the circumstance that they took the phrase corresponding to **655**. 22–3 to mean 'when you put off the body,' i.e. 'die,' whereas the evidence of the parallel in the papyrus gives the words a slightly different turn, and brings them more nearly into line with the following sentences *ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν, κ.τ.λ.* But Zahn would, nevertheless, seem in the light of the new parallel to be right in maintaining that the passage in the Gospel according to the Egyptians does not go much further in an Encratite direction than, e.g. Matt. xxii. 30 and Luke xx. 34–6. The occurrence of another version of the story is an important additional piece of evidence in defence of the view that it contains at least some elements of genuineness, and a special interest attaches both to the form of the Saying in **655**. 22–3 on account of the clearness of its language, and to its context, in which other matter closely related to the Canonical Gospels is found in immediate proximity. All this lends fresh value to what is, on account of the far-reaching problems connected with it, one of the most important and remarkable, and, since the discovery of **655**, one of the better attested, of the early *Agrapha*.

656. Genesis.

Height 24·4 *cm.* Plate II (*c* verso).

Parts of four leaves from a papyrus codex of the book of Genesis in the Septuagint version. The MS. was carefully written in round upright uncials of good size and decidedly early appearance, having in some respects more

affinity with types of the second century than of the third. To the latter, however, the hand is in all probability to be assigned, though we should be inclined to place it in the earlier rather than the later part of the century; in any case this may rank with the original Oxyrhynchus Logia (**1**) and the fragments of St. Matthew's and St. John's Gospels (**2**, **208**) as one of the most ancient Greek theological books so far known, and it has some claim to be considered the oldest of the group. Another mark of age is perhaps to be recognized in the absence of the usual contractions for *θεός*, *κύριος*, &c., but this may of course be no more than an individual peculiarity. The only abbreviation that occurs is the horizontal stroke instead of *ν*, employed to save space at the end of a long line. Both high and middle (ll. 13, 19) stops are found, but are sparingly used: more often a pause is marked by a slight blank space. A few alterations and additions have been made by a second hand, which seems also to be responsible for the numeration in the centre of the upper margin of each page.

The evidence of so early a text is of particular value for the book of Genesis, where the uncial MSS. are most weakly represented. The only first-class MS. available for comparison practically throughout the parts covered by the papyrus, namely, xiv. 21–3, xv. 5–9, xix. 32–xx. 11, xxiv. 28–47, xxvii. 32–3, 40–1, is the Codex Alexandrinus (A). The Vatican and Ambrosian codices do not begin till later in the book, the Sinaiticus (ℵ) is defective except for occasional verses in the twenty-fourth chapter, the readings of D, the Cottonian MS., which for the most part survives only in a collation (=*D*), are unascertainable in xx. 4–11 and xxiv. 28–30, and the Bodleian Genesis (E) fails us in xxiv. The result of a collation, where possible, with these MSS., is to show that the papyrus, while seldom supporting E, does not side continuously with either ℵ, A, or D, though, of course, too little of ℵ remains for a satisfactory comparison. As a general rule the readings favoured by the new witness are the shorter ones; cf. e.g. notes on ll. 16, 27, 47–8, 53, 62, 67, 74, 129, 138–9, 154, 183, 185, 188, as against ll. 42, 81, 144, 163. Not infrequently variants occur otherwise attested only by cursive MSS., though here too no consistent agreement can be traced, and the mixed character of the cursive texts is further emphasized. The papyrus is certainly pre-Lucianic, but it has two readings characteristic of Lagarde's Lucianic group (=Holmes 19, 108, 118), *γένους* for *τοῦ γένους* in xix. 38 and the omission of *ἐκεῖθεν* (with the Hebrew) in xxiv. 38. Readings common to this group and other cursives are *ἐκείνῃ* for *ταύτῃ* in xix. 33, and *ἄνδρες* for *ἄνθρωποι* in xx. 8. On the other hand, the papyrus opposes the Lucianic group in the addition of *τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην* in xix. 35, and the omission of *ἐφοβήθην . . . αὐτήν* in xx. 2, in the one case against, in the other with, the Hebrew. The number of

variants which are altogether new, considering the scope of the fragments, is considerable; see ll. 48, 55, 56, 81, 114, 154, 155, 160, 163, 181. A peculiar feature is the tendency to omit the word κύριος when applied to the Deity; this occurs in no fewer than four passages (ll. 17, 122, 155, 166), in three of which (ll. 17, 122, 166) the omission has been made good by the second hand. A blank space was originally left where the word occurred in l. 17. In the version of Aquila the Tetragrammaton was written in Hebrew letters, and this peculiarity reappears in a few Hexaplaric MSS. of the Septuagint. The papyrus offers the first example of a similar tendency to avoid the sacred name in a text otherwise independent of the Aquila tradition.

The collation with the chief uncial codices given below is based on the edition of Swete, while the occasional references to the cursives are derived from Holmes; for some additional information we are indebted to Mr. N. McLean.

(*a*) Verso xiv. 21–3.

. . . . . .
[Αβραμ δος] μοι τους ανδρα[ς
[την δε ιππο]ν λαβε σεαυτω
[ειπεν δε Αβρα]μ προς βασιλεα
[Σ̔οδομων εκ]τε[[ι]]νω την χε[ι]
5 [ρα μου προς τ]ον θεον τον ὕ
[ψιστον ος εκ]τισεν τον ουρα
[νον και την γ]ην ει απο σπαρ
[τιου εως σφ]αιρωτηρος ὕ
[ποδηματος] λημψομαι

Recto xv. 5–9.

. . . . . .
10 [σπ]ερμα σ̣[ο]υ̣ [και επιστευσεν
[Α]βραμ τω θεω [και ελογισθη
αυτω εις δικαιοσ[υνην ειπεν
δε προς αυτον· εγ[ω ο θεος ο εξ̣α
γαγων σε εκ χωρ̣[ας Χαλδαιων ωσ
15 τε δουναι σοι τη[ν γην ταυτην
[κ]ληρονομησαι· [ειπεν δε δεσπο
τα κυριε κατα τι γ[νωσομαι οτι
[κ]ληρονομησω α[υτην ειπεν
[δε α]υτω· λαβε μ[οι δαμαλιν τριε
20 [τι]ζ̣ουσαν και αιγα [τριετιζουσαν

(*b*) Verso xix. 32–xx. 2.

μ̣[ε
μετ αυτου κ[αι εξ̣αναστησω
μεν εκ του [πατρος ημων σπερ
μα εποτισα[ν δε τον πατερα
25 αυτων οινο[ν εν τη νυκτι εκει
νη κα[ι] εισελ[θουσα η πρεσβυτε

Recto xx. 2–11.

μ]ς
[δε Αμειβελεχ β]ασιλευς Γερα
ν
65 [ρων και ελαβεν τ]ην Σ̔αρρα και
[εισηλθεν ο θεος] προς Αμιβε
[λεχ εν υπνω την] νυκτα και ει
[πεν ιδου συ απ]οθνησκεις π[ε

ρα εκοιμηθη [μετα του πατρος
την νυκτα εκ[ειν]ην και ουκ ει
δη εν τω κοιμη[θηναι αυτην και
30 ανασ[τ]ηναι εγ[ενετο δε τη επαυ
[ρ]ιον και ειπεν [η πρεσβυτερα
τη νεωτερα ϊδ[ου εκοιμη]θην εχθες
μετα του πατρ[ος ημων] π[ο]τι
σωμεν αυτον ο[ινον και τη]ν νυ
35 κτα [τ]α[υτην] κα[ι εισελθουσ]α κο[ι
μηθητι μετ α̣[υτου και εξανα
στησωμεν εκ [του πατρος ημων
[σ]περμα εποτισ[αν δε και εν τη
νυκτι εκεινη τ[ον πατερα] α̣[υ
40 των οινον και ε[ισελθου]σα̣ η̣ [νε
ωτερα εκοιμη[θη μετα του πα
τρος αυτης τη[ν νυκτα εκ]ε[ινην
και ουκ ειδη ε[ν τω κοιμη
[θ]η̣[να]ι̣ και αν[αστηναι και συν
45 [ελ]αβον αι δ[υο θυγατερες Λωτ
εκ τ̣[ο]υ̣ πατρος α[υτων και ετεκεν
η π[ρε]σβυτερα υ[ιον και εκα
λε[σε] ονομα αυ[του Μωαβ εκ του
πατ[ρ]ος μου ουτ[ος πατηρ Μωαβι
50 των εως της σ[ημερον ημερας
ετεκεν δε κ[αι η νεωτερα υιον
και [ε]καλεσεν [το ονομα αυτου
Αμ[μ]αν υϊος γ[ενους μου ου
τος πατηρ Αμμ[ανιτων εως
55 της ημερας ταυτης
[εκινη]σεν δε εκειθεν [Α]βραα̣[μ
[εις] γην προς λιβα κ[αι] ω̣κ̣η̣[σε]ν
[α]να μεσον Καδ[η]ς κα̣[ι] α̣ν̣α̣ με
[σο]ν Σ̣ουρ και παρ[ωκ]ησε[ν εν Γε
60 [ραροι]ς ειπεν δε [Α]βρα[αμ] περι
[ρι της γυναικος] ης ελαβες αυ [
70 [τη δε εστιν συν]ωκηκυϊα ανδρ[ι
[Αμιβελεχ δε] ουχ ηψατο αυτη[ς
[και ειπεν κυριε]· εθνος αγνοουν
και δι[καιον απ]ολεις ουκ αυτος
μοι ει[πεν αδε]λφη μου εστιν
75 και αυτ[η μοι ειπ]εν αδελφος μου
εστ[ιν εν καθαρ]α καρδια και ε̣[ν δικαι
[οσ]υν[η χειρων ε]ποιησα τουτο
[ειπεν δε αυτω] ο θεος καθ υπν̣[ο]
[καγω εγνων ο]τι εν καθαρα κα[ρ
80 [δ]ι̣α̣ [εποιησας τ]ουτο και εφισα
αν
[μ]ην κ[αγω σου το]υ μη αμαρτειν σε
[ει]ς εμ[ε ενεκεν] τουτου ουκ αφη
[κ]α̣ σε [αψασθαι αυ]της νυν δε απο
[δο]ς τ[ην γυναικα τ]ω ανθρωπω ο
85 [τι] προ[φητης εστ]ιν και π[ρ]οσευ[ξε
[ται περι σου και ζη]ση ει δε μη α
[ποδιδως γνωθι ο]τι αποθανη
[συ και παντα τα σ]α και ωρθ[ρισ]εν
[Αμιβελεχ το] πρωϊ κα[ι] εκα[λε]σε̣[ν
90 [παντας τους π]αιδας αυτο[υ] κα[ι
[ελαλησεν παντ]α τα ρηματα ταυ
[τα εις τα ωτα αυτω]ν εφοβηθη
[σαν δε παντες οι α]νδρες σ[φ]οδρα
[και εκαλεσεν Αμ]ειβελεχ τον
95 [Αβρααμ] και ειπεν αυτω τι του
[το] εποιησας ημ[ι]ν μη τι ημαρ
[το]μεν εις σε οτι επηγαγε[ς] ε[π ε
με και επι την βασιλειαν μου α[μαρ
[τ]ιαν μεγαλην εργον ο ουδε[ι]ς π̣[οι
100 [ησει πε]ποιηκας μοι ειπεν δ[ε
[Α]μειβελεχ τω Αβρααμ τι ενι[δων

[Σα]ρρας της γυνα[ικο]ς αυτου
[αδε]λφη μου εσ[τι]ν α[πε]στειλεν
[ε]ποιησας τουτο ειπεν δε Αβρ[ααμ
[ει]πα γαρ [α]ρα ουκ εστιν θεοσ[εβεια
[ε]ν τω τοπω τουτω εμε τ[ε απο
ενο[ν]σι
105 [κτειν]ουσιν ενεκεν της γ[υναι

(c) Recto xxiv. 28–37.

νθ
δραμουσα η παις απηγγειλε[ν
εις τον οικον της μητρος αυτης
τα
κατα ρηματα ταυτα τη δε Ρεβεκ
110 κα [α]δελ[φ]ος ην ω ονομα Λαβαν
και εδραμεν Λαβαν προς τον αν
θρωπον εξω επι της πηγης και
εγενετ[ο] ηνικα ειδεν τα ενωτια
και τα ψελια περι τας χειρας της
115 αδελφης αυτου και ο[τ]ε ηκου
σεν τα ρηματα Ρεβε[κ]κας της
αδ[ε]λφης [αυτ]ου λεγουσης ου
τως λελα[λη]κεν μοι ο ανθρωπο[ς
και ηλθεν [πρ]ος τον ανθρωπον ε
120 στηκοτος αυτου επι των καμη
λων επι της πηγης και ειπε[ν αυ
τω [δ]ευρο εισελθε ευλογητος κ[υριος
ϊνα τι εστηκας εξω εγω δε ητ[οι
μακα την οικιαν και τοπον τα[ις
125 καμ[ηλ]οις εισηλθεν δε ο ανθρω
[π]ος εις τ[η]ν ο[ικια]ν και απεσαξ[εν
[τας κα]μηλους κ[αι] εδωκεν αχυ[ρα
[και χορτ]ασματα ταις καμηλοι[ς
[και υδ]ωρ τοις ποσιν αυτου και τ[οις
130 [ποσι] των αν[δρων τω]ν με[τ] α[υ
[του και πα]ρεθ[ηκεν
3 lines lost

Verso xxiv. 38–47.

150 ξ
[πο]ρευση και εις την φυ[λη]ν μου
κ[α]ι λημψη γυ[ν]αικα τω υϊω μου
ειπα δε τω κυ[ρι]ω μου μη ποτε
ου πορευθησεται [γ]υνη μετ εμου
155 και ειπεν μοι ο θεος ω ευηρεστη
σα εναντιον αυτου αυτος απο
στελει τον αγγελον αυτου με
τ[α] σου και [[ε]] ευοδωσει την οδον
σ[ο]υ και [λη]μψη γυνα[ι]κα τω υϊω
160 μ[ο]υ εκ της φυλης μου η εκ του
οικου του πατρος μου τοτε αθω
ος εση απο της αρας μου ηνικα
γα[ρ] εαν εισελθης εις την εμην
φυ[λ]ην και μη σοι δωσιν και εση αθω
165 ο[ς] απο του ορκου μου και ελ[θ]ων
[ση]μερον επ[ι τ]ην πηγην ε[ι]πα κυ
[ριε ο θ]εος του κυριου μου Αβρ[αα]μ ει συ
[ευο]δο[ι]ς την οδον μου η ν[υν] εγ[ω
[πο]ρευομα[ι] επ [αυτην ιδ]ου ε[γ]ω εφ[ε
170 [στ]ηκα επι της [π]ηγης του [υδατος
[αι δ]ε θυγατερες των ανθρ[ωπων
[τη]ς πολεως εξελευσοντ[αι αντλη
[σαι] υδωρ και εσται η παρθ[ενος η
εγω
[εα]ν ειπω ποτισον με με[ικρον υ
175 [δωρ] ε[κ] τ[ης υδριας] σου [και ειπη
[μοι πιε συ και ταις καμηλοις σου υ]

135 [παις Αβρααμ] εγω ει[μι . . . . .
[. . . . . τον] κυριον [μου σφοδρα
και υψωθη [και] εδ[ωκεν αυτω
προβατα κα[ι μοσχους και
ↄ αργυριον και π̣[αιδισκας και
140 [κ]αμη[λο]υς και ον[ους και ετεκε̄
[Σ̄αρ]ρα [η γυνη του κυριου μου υιον
[ενα τω κυριω μου μ]ε[τ]α το [γηρα
[σαι αυτον και εδωκ]εν αυ[τω παν
[τα οσα ην αυτω και ω]ρκισε[ν με ο
145 [κυριος μου λεγων ου] λημψη [γυ
[ναικα τω υιω μου απο των] θυγα[τε
[ρων των Χαναναιων εν] οις [ε
2 lines lost
[δρευσομαι αυτ]η [η γυνη ην ητοι
[μασεν κυριος τ]ω̣ θ̣[εραποντι αυτου
[Ισαακ και] εν τουτ[ω γνωσομαι ο
180 [τι πεποιη]κας ελε[ος τ]ω [κυριω
[μου Αβρααμ] και εγενετο εν τω
[συντελεσαι με] λαλουντα εν τη
[διανοια] ευ[θυς] Ρ[ε]βεκκα εξεπο
[ρευετο] ε̣χ̣[ουσ]α την υδ̣[ρι]αν επι
185 [των ωμ]ω̣ν̣ κ̣[αι κ]α̣[τεβη επ]ι τ[ην
[πηγη]ν και υ[δρευσατο ειπα δε αυ
[τη πο]τισον [με και σπευσασα κα
[θειλε]ν την [υδριαν αφ εαυτης και
[ει]πεν π̣ε̣[ιε συ και τας καμηλους
190 [σο]υ ποτ[ιω και επιον και τας καμη
[λου]ς μου [εποτισεν και ηρωτησα
[αυτην] κ[αι
. . . . .

(*d*) Recto xxvii. 32–3.

. . . .
υ]ι̣ο̣[ς
εξ̣]εστη [δε
195 μεγαλη]ν σφ[οδρα
θηρ]ευσ[ας
εισενεγ]κας [μοι
. . . .

Verso xxvii. 40–1.

. . . .
] εκλυ[σεις
τρα]χηλ[ου
200 τ]ω Ϊακ[ωβ
ευ]λογ[ησεν
αυτο]υ ε[ιπεν
. . . .

1. [Αβραμ δος] is somewhat short for the lacuna, but to add προς would make the supplement rather long.

4. The deletion of ι may be due to either the first or second hand; εκτενω A*D*.

13. προς αυτον: so most cursives; αυτω A*D*. The ε of εγ[ω seems to have been altered from some other letter.

16. [κ]ληρονομησαι: so A; κλ. αυτην *D*.

17. A blank space, sufficient for four letters, was left by the original scribe between τα and κατα, and in this κυριε was inserted by the second hand; cf. ll. 122, 155, and 166.

25. εκει]νη: so a number of cursives, including the 'Lucianic' group; ταυτη ADE.

27. αυτης which is read after πατρος by A*D*E seems to have been omitted by the

papyrus, the line being quite long enough without it. On the other hand *την νυκτα εκεινην* is omitted in *D*.

28. *ειδη*: the same spelling for *ηδει* recurs in l. 43; *εγνω* *D* in both places.

32. *τη νεωτερα*: so the Codex Caesareus and several cursives; *προς την νεωτεραν* A*D*E. *εχθες* has been added at the end of the line by the second hand.

36. *μ* of *μετ* has been altered from *α*.

37–8. *εκ . . . [σ]περμα*: so A*D*; *σπ. εκ του π. ημων* E.

39–43. The position of the small fragment at the ends of these lines is made practically certain by the recto (cf. note on l. 81); but the scanty vestiges in l. 42 do not suit particularly well and the reading adopted is very problematical. Moreover above the line between the supposed *α* and *η* is a curved mark which does not suggest any likely letter and remains unexplained. One cursive (108) has *και η νεωτερα*, but there is no ground for attributing this to the papyrus.

42. *τη[ν νυκτα εκ]ε[ινην*: om. A*D*E. The papyrus reading is found in the cursives 56 (margin), 74, 106, 130, 134, 135.

43. *ειδη*: cf. l. 28, note.

47. There would be room for two or three more letters in this line.

47–8. *εκαλε[σε] ονομα*: *εκαλεσεν το ονομα* A*D*E. There is not sufficient room in the lacuna for the usual *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*, still less for *το*.

48. *λεγουσα* which is read after *Μωαβ* by ADE was certainly omitted by the papyrus (so Jerome), the passage being thus quite parallel with the explanation of the name *Αμμαν* in the following verse.

53. *υιος γ[ενους*: so the 'Lucianic' cursives; *ο υιος του γενους* A, *υιος του γ.* *D*, *υιον του γ.* E.

55. *της ημερας ταυτης*: *της σημερον ημερας* ADE. The rest of the line was left blank, a new chapter commencing at l. 56.

56. *[εκινη]σεν δε*: *και εκινησεν* A*D*E.

57. *προς λιβα*: so AD; *εως λιβα* E.

62. A has *οτι* before *αδελφη*, but *οτι* is omitted, as in the papyrus, by D and E. After *εστιν* the papyrus omits the second half of the verse *εφοβηθη γαρ ειπειν (οτι) γυνη μου εστιν μη ποτε αποκτεινωσιν αυτον οι ανδρες της πολεως δι αυτην* (ADE), as do the cursives 15 (first hand), 82, 106, 107, 135.

64. *Αμειβελεχ* or *Αμιβελεχ* is the regular spelling of the name in this text. *Αβιμελεχ* ADE.

67. There is evidently not room in the lacuna for A's reading *ειπεν αυτω ιδου συ αποθνησκεις*, and the omission of *αυτω* is more probable (so DE and many cursives) than that of *συ* (om. E).

74. E inserts *οτι* before *αδελφη* here and *αδελφος* in l. 75.

79. *καθαρα κα[ρδ]ια*: so A; *καρδια καθαρα* E.

80. *εφισα[μ]ην*: *εφεισαμην* A, *εφησαμην* E.

81. *κ[αγω* (*εγω* AE) may have been merely repeated here from l. 79, but, as Mr. McLean points out, it is supported by the Hebrew and may well be a genuine reading. The other letters on this fragment (ll. 80–5) suit so exactly that there can be no reasonable doubt that it is rightly placed here, although there is also a slight difficulty with regard to the verso.

αμαρτειν, the reading of the first hand, is that of AE.

86. *ζη]ση*: so A; *ζησει* E.

93. *α]νδρες*: so a number of cursives; *ανθρωποι* AE.

104. *τ[ε*: so A; *δε* E.

105. The reading of the interlinear insertion is very uncertain, but the alteration apparently concerns the termination of the verb, and it seems more probable that αποκτεινουσι was corrected to αποκτενουσι than vice versa. αποκτενουσι AE; αποκτεινουσι occurs in the cursive 72; cf. l. 165, note.

109. The reading of A here is exactly parallel to that of the papyrus, τα after κατα having been originally omitted and supplied by an early corrector. ℵDE are deficient.

112. της πηγης: την πηγην A. The genitive seems to have come in from the next verse.

113. ειδεν: ιδεν A.

114. περι: επι A, ἐν ταῖς χερσί a number of the cursives.

122. κ[υριος has been added at the end of the line by the second hand: κς AℵD.

123. ητ[οι]μακα: so ℵ*D*; ητοιμασα A.

126. απεσαξ[εν: so ℵD; επεσαξεν A.

129. The papyrus agrees with A in omitting νιψασθαι which ℵD add after υδωρ.

135–6. The reading of the papyrus here cannot be determined; ℵA have κυριος δε ευλογησεν, D [κς ε]υοδωσεν. κυριος δε ευ|λογησεν or ευ|οδωσεν τον makes the end of l. 135 a little long, but a blank space may have been originally left for κυριος as in ll. 122 and 126 or δε may have been omitted.

138–9. The papyrus here omits several words and its exact reading is not quite clear. A has προβατα και μοσχους και αργυριον και χρυσιον παιδας και παιδισκας καμηλους και ονους, D leaves out the και after μοσχους, transposes αργυριον and χρυσιον and inserts και before παιδας. It is just possible that the papyrus agreed with D in reading μοσχους χρυσιον και, but π[αιδας και παιδισκας και can evidently not be got into l. 139, and more probably both χρυσιον and και παιδας were omitted and και was written with each substantive. The words originally missing were probably supplied by the second hand at the bottom of the page, for opposite l. 139 is the semicircular sign commonly used to mark an omission; cf. e.g. 16. iii. 3.

141–2. It is quite possible that the lines were divided νι|ον and that ενα was omitted, as in *D*.

143. αυτον: or αυτην (*D*).

144. The length of the lacuna indicates that the text agreed with D and the second corrector of ℵ in adding παντα before the simple οσα of ℵA.

152. After μου ℵAD add εκειθεν. The papyrus here supports the 'Lucianic' cursives 19 and 108.

154. πορευθησεται: so a number of cursives; πορευθη A, πορευσεται ℵ*D*.

[γ]υνη: η γυνη AℵD.

155. ο θεος: κυριος ο θεος A, om. ο θεος ℵ*D*.

156. εναντιον: so A*D* and the second corrector of ℵ; ενωπιον ℵ.

αποστελει: so ℵ*D*; εξαποστελει A.

160. η: και MSS.

162. απο: so ℵ*D*; εκ A.

163. εισελθης: ελθης A*D*.

την εμην φυ[λ]ην: so *D*; την φυλην μου A.

164. σοι δωσιν: this is the order in many of the cursives; δωσιν σοι A*D*. και before εση is omitted by *D*.

165. ορκου: so the cursive 72 (cf. note on l. 105); ορκισμου ℵA*D*.

166. κυ[ριε (so ℵA*D*) is again due to the second hand; cf. l. 17, note.

168. η ν[υν]: there is not room in the lacuna for more than two letters, so ην [νυν] (ℵA*D*) is inadmissible. ἦ is found also in the cursives 75 and 106.

169. εφ[εστ]ηκα: εστηκα ℵAD; there is an erasure before εστηκα in A, and apparently εφεστηκα (which also occurs in several cursives) was the original reading.

170. της [π]ηγης: so ℵD; την πηγην A.

171. [αι δ]ε: so D; και αι ℵA.

172. εξελευσοντ[αι: so AD; εκπορευονται ℵ. The papyrus seems to have had αντλησαι, which is found in some of the cursives; υδρευσασθαι, the better supported reading, is too long.

174. [εα]ν: the papyrus follows the vulgar spelling. εγω was originally omitted, and was added by the second hand.

μεικρον is also the spelling of ℵ.

175–6. The reading printed is that of A, which on the whole seems to suit the space best; but μοι may have been written at the end of l. 175, and the variant of ℵ πιε και συ or of D και συ πιε is quite possible.

178. θ[εραποντι αυτου (ℵ) seems more likely than ε[αυτου θεραποντι (AD), for though the supposed θ may equally well be ε the line is already rather long and the lacuna in l. 179 is sufficiently filled with [Ισαακ και].

181. εν τω: προ του ℵA, πριν η D.

183. [διανοια]: so ℵ; διανοια μου AD.

ευ[θυς]: so ℵA: και ιδου D.

185. Though the κ of κ[αι is not quite certain and still less the α of κ]α[τεβη, the papyrus clearly agreed with AD in omitting αυτης which is read after ωμων by ℵ.

188. A here has την υδριαν επι τον βραχιονα αυτης αφ εαυτης και ειπεν, while ℵD omit επι τον βραχιονα. The papyrus reading was still shorter, since not more than about 15 letters should stand in the lacuna, and there can be little doubt that αυτης was left out, as in some of the cursives.

189. πε[ιε: l. πιε.

192. This line may have been the last of the column, but the recto has one line more.

657. Epistle to the Hebrews.

Height 26·3 *cm.*

This considerable fragment of the Epistle to the Hebrews is written on the back of the papyrus containing the new epitome of Livy (**668**). The text is in broad columns, of which eleven are represented, corresponding to Ch. ii. 14–v. 5, x. 8–xi. 13, and xi. 28–xii. 17, or about one-third of the whole. The columns are numbered at the top, those preserved being according to this numeration 47–50, 63–5, 67–9; it is thus evident that the Epistle to the Hebrews was preceded in this MS. by something else, probably some other part of the New Testament. The hand is a sloping uncial of the oval type, but somewhat coarse and irregular, and apparently in the transitional stage between the Roman and Byzantine variety. It is very similar in appearance to the hand of **404**, a fragment of the Shepherd of Hermes, of which a facsimile is given in

P. Oxy. III, Plate iv; and we should attribute it to the first half of the fourth century, while it may well go back to the first quarter. As stated in the introd. to **668**, the papyri with which this was found were predominantly of the third century, and it is not likely to have been separated from them by any wide interval. The fact that the strips of cursive documents which were used to patch and strengthen the papyrus before the verso was used are of the third and not the fourth century points to the same conclusion. There is no sign anywhere of a second hand, and such corrections as occur are due to the original scribe, who is responsible for occasional lection signs and the punctuation by means of a double point inserted somewhat freely and not always accurately (cf. e. g. l. 19); a single point is occasionally substituted. This system of punctuation is remarkable, for it seems to correspond to an earlier division into στίχοι longer than those in extant MSS. and frequently coinciding with the arrangement in the edition of Blass (Halle, 1903). The contractions usual in theological MSS. are found, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ being written for Ἰησοῦς. Orthography is not a strong point, instances of the confusion common at this period between ι and ει, ε and αι, υ and οι, being especially frequent; but apart from minor inaccuracies the text is a good and interesting one. Its chief characteristic is a tendency in Chs. ii–v to agree with B, the Codex Vaticanus, in the omission of unessential words or phrases; cf. notes on ll. 15, 24, and 60. This gives the papyrus a peculiar value in the later chapters, where B is deficient; for here too similar omissions are not infrequent (cf. notes on ll. 118, 125, 151, 152, 161, 224), and it is highly probable that they were also found in B, particularly when, as is sometimes the case, D (the Claromontanus, of the sixth century) is on the same side. Of the other MSS. the papyrus is nearest to D (cf. notes on ll. 60, 125, 145, 152, 154, 178, 222, 224–6), but the two sometimes part company (cf. notes on ll. 139, 163, 180); only in one doubtful case (note on l. 168) does it support ℵ against the consensus of the other MSS. Variants peculiar to the papyrus, apart from the omissions already referred to, are noted at ll. 32, 37, 106, 115, 156, 162, 227, 229. We give a collation with the Textus Receptus and the text of Westcott and Hort, adding particulars concerning the readings of the principal authorities.

Col. i.

μζ

[καταργηση τον] το κρατος εχοντα του θανατου ii. 14
[τουτεστι το]ν διαβολον : και απαλλαξη του
[τους οσοι φοβω θ]ανατου δια παν{τον}τος του ζην
5 [ενοχοι ησαν δου]λειας : ου γαρ δηπου αγγελων

[επιλαμβανεται] αλλα σπερματος Αβρααμ επι
[λαμβανεται οθ]εν ωφιλεν κατα παντα τοις α
[δελφοις ομοιωθ]ηναι : ϊνα ελεημων γενηται
[και πιστος αρχιε]ρευς τα προς τον θν̄ εις το ειλασ
10 [κεσθαι τας αμαρ]τιας του λαου : εν ω γαρ πεπον
[θεν αυτος πιρασ]θεις : δυναται τοις πιραζομε
[νοις βοηθησαι ο]θεν αδελφοι αγιοι κλησεως ε
[πουρανιου μετοχ]οι : κατανοησατε τον αποστολο̄
[και αρχιερεα της ο]μολογιας ημων Ιν̄ πιστον οντα
15 [τω ποιησαντι] αυτον : ως κε Μωϋσης εν τω οικω
[αυτου πλειο]νος γαρ δοξης ουτος παρα Μωϋσην
[ηξιωται καθ ο]σον πλειονα τιμη⟨ν⟩ εχει του [ο]ικου : ο
[κατασκευα]σας αυτον : πας γαρ οικος κατασκευ
[αζεται υπο] τινος : ο δε παντα κατασκευασας : θς̄
20 [και Μωυση]ς μεν πιστος εν ολω τω οικω αυτου
[ως θεραπω]ν εις μαρτυριον : των λαληθησομε
[νων Χς̄ δε] ως υιος επι τον οικον αυτου ου οικος
[εσμεν ημει]ς : εαν την παρρησιαν και το καυχη
[μα της ελπ]ιδος κατασχωμεν : διο καθως λεγει
25 [το πνᾱ το α]γιον σημερον εαν της φωνης αυτου
[ακουσητε] μη σκληρυνητε τας καρδιας ϋμων
[ως εν τω πα]ραπικρασμω κατα την ημεραν του
[πιρασμου] εν τη ερημω ου επιρ⟨α⟩σαν οι πατερες υμω̄

Col. ii.

μη
30 εν δ[οκι]μασια και ειδον τα εργα μου τεσσερακον[τα iii. 9
ετη [δι]ο προσωκθεισα τη γενεα ταυτη και ειπ[ον
αει [πλ]αν[ω]νται εν τη καρδια αυτων διο ουκ εγνω[σαν
τα[ς οδους μο]υ ως ωμοσα εν τη οργη μου ει εισ[ε
λευ[σοντ]αι ε[ις] την καταπαυσιν μου : βλεπεται α[δελ
35 φο[ι μη] ποτε εστε εν τινι ϋμων καρδια πονηρ[α
[απι]σ[τια]ς : εν τω αποστηναι απο θῡ ζωντος : αλ [
[λα] πα[ρα]καλεσατε εαυτους καθ εκαστην ημ[ε

[ρα]ν α[χ]ρι ου το σημερον καλε[ι]ται : ϊνα μ[η σκλη
[ρυν]θ[η τις ε]ξ υμων απατη τ[η]ς αρματιας [μετο
40 [χοι] γα[ρ του Χ]ῡ γεγοναμεν : εανπερ την α[ρχην
[τ]ης υποστασεως μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν [κατα
[σ]χωμεν εν τω λεγεσθαι σημερον εαν της φ[ω
νης αυτου ακουσητε : μη σκληρυνητε τας κ[αρ
δειας ϋμων ως εν τω παραπικρασμω : τ[νες
45 γαρ ακουσαντες παρεπικραναν αλλ ου πα[ντες
οι εξελθο[ντες εξ] Αιγυπτου δια Μωϋσεως τισ[ιν
δε προσωχ[θεισεν] τεσσερακοντα ετη ουχι τ[οις
αμαρτησασιν ων τα κωλα επεσεν εν τη ε[ρη
μω : τισ[ι]ν δε ωμοσεν μη εισελευσεσθαι ε[ις
50 τ[η]ν καταπαυσιν αυτου ει μη τοις απιθησασε[ιν
κ[α]ι βλεπομεν οτι [ο]υκ ηδυνασθησαν εισε[λ
θειν δι α[πιστ]ειαν : φοβηθωμεν ουν μη π[ο
τε κατα[λι]πομενης επαγγελιας εισελθε[ιν
[ε]ις την καταπαυσιν αυτου δοκη τις εξ υμ[ων
55 ϋστερ[η]κεναι : και γαρ εσμεν ευηγγελισμεν[οι

Col. iii.

μθ

[καθαπερ κ]ακεινοι αλλ ουκ ωφελησεν ο λογος iv. 2
[της ακοης] εκεινους μη συνκεκερασμενους
[τη πιστι το]ις ακουσασιν : εισερχομεθα γαρ εις
60 [καταπα]υσιν οι πιστευσαντες : καθως ειρηκεν
[ως ωμο]σα εν τη οργη μου ει ελευσοντε εις την κα
[ταπαυ]σιν μου : καιτοι τ[ω]ν εργων απο καταβο
[λης κοσ]μου γενηθεντων ειρηκεν που περι της
[εβδομ]ης ουτως : και κα[τε]παυσες ο θς εν τη ημε
65 [ρα τη εβ]δομη απο παντ[ων] των εργων αυτου : και
[εν τουτ]ω πα[λ]ιν εισελευ[σο]νται εις την καταπαυσῑ
[μου επ]ι ουν απολιπετε τινας εισελθειν εις αυτῑ
[και οι πρ]οτερον ευαγγελισθεντες ουκ εισι[λθ]ō
[δι απιθι]αν παλιν τινα οριζει ημεραν σημερō

70 [εν Δαυ]ειδ λεγων μετα τοσουτον χρονον [κα]θ̣[ω]ς̣
[προειρη]τα̣ι : [σ]ημερον εαν της φωνης αυτ[ου α
[κουσητ]ε μ[η] σκληρυνητε τας καρδιας υμ[ων
[ει γαρ α]υτους Ις̄ κατεπαυσεν ουκ αν π[ερι αλ
[λης ελα]λι μετα ταυτα ημερας : αρα απ[ολι
75 [πεται σ]αβ̣βατισμος τω λαω του θῡ ο γαρ [εισ
[ελθων] ει[ς την] καταπαυσιν αυτ[ου] : και α[υ]τ̣ος
[κατεπ]αυσ̣[εν] απο των εργων αυ[του] ω̣σ̣[περ] α
[πο των ι]διων ο θς̄· σπουδασωμεν [ο]υ[ν] εισελ
[θειν ει]ς εκεινην την καταπαυσι[ν ιν]α̣ μη εν
80 [τω αυτ]ω τις υποδιγματι πεση της απιθ[ι]ας : ζῶ
[γαρ ο λο]γος του θῡ και ενεργης : και [τ]ο̣μ̣[ωτερο]ς̣ υ̣

Col. iv.

ν

περ πασαν μαχα[ιραν διστομον και διικνουμε iv. 12
νος αχρει μερισμ[ου ψυχης και πνς̄ αρμων τε
85 και μυελων και κ[ριτικος ενθυμησεων και εν
νυων καρδειας : [και ουκ εστιν κτισις αφανης
ενωπιον αυτου : [παντα δε γυμνα και τετραχη
λισμενα τοις οφ[θαλμοις αυτου προς ον ημιν
ο λογος : εχοντε[ς ουν αρχιερεα μεγαν διε
90 ληλυθοτα του[ς ουρανους Ιν̄ τον υιον του θῡ
κρατωμεν της [ομολογιας ου γαρ εχομεν αρχι
ρεα μη δυναμ[ενον συνπαθησαι ταις ασθε
νεια[ι]ς ημων [πεπιρασμενον δε κατα παντα
καθ ομοιοτητα [χωρις αμαρτιας προσερχωμε
95 θα ουν μετα [παρρησιας τω θρονω της χαριτος
[ιν]α λαβωμε[ν ελεος και χαριν ευρωμεν εις ευ
[και]ρον βοηθ[ειαν πας γαρ αρχιερευς εξ ανθρω
[πω]ν λαμβα[νομενος υπερ ανθρωπων κα
[θι]στατα[ι τα προς τον θν̄ ινα προσφερη δωρα
100 [και θυ]σιας υ[περ αμαρτιων μετριοπαθειν δυ
ναμενος τοις α[γνοουσι και πλανωμενοις επει

και αυτος περ[ικειται ασθενειαν και δι αυτην
οφιλει καθω[ς περι του λαου ουτως και περι εαυ
του προσφερ[ειν περι αμαρτιων και ουχ ε
105 *αυτω τις λαμβ[ανει την τιμην αλλα καλουμε*
νος ὕπο του [θυ ουτως και ο Χς ουχ εαυτον εδο
ξασεν γενη[θηναι αρχιερεα αλλ ο λαλησας

12 columns lost.

Col. v.

ξβ

[προσφερονται το]τε ειρη[κεν ι]δου η[κω του ποιησαι το x. 8
110 *[θελημα σου] : αναιρει το [πρωτ]ον ἵνα [το δευτερον στη*
[ση εν ω θε]ληματι ηγιασμεν[ο]ι εσμ[εν δια της προσ
[φορας του σω]ματος Ιυ Χ[υ] εφαπαξ : [και πας μεν ιε
[ρευς εστη]κεν καθ ημεραν λιτου[ργων και τας αυτας
[πολλακις] προσφερω[ν] θυσιας αιτινες ου[δεποτε
115 *[δυνανται] περιελειν αμαρτιαν : ουτος δε [μιαν υ*
[περ αμαρτιων] προσενεγκας θυσιαν εις το διη[νεκες
[εκαθισεν εν δεξια] του θυ το λοιπον εκδεχο[μενος
[εως τεθωσιν] οι εχθροι ὑποποδιον των ποδ{ι}ω[ν αυτου
[μια γαρ προσ]φορα τετελειωκεν εις το διηνεκε[ς τους
120 *[αγιαζομεν]ους : μαρτυρει δε ημειν και τ[ο πνα*
[το αγιον μετ]α γαρ το ειρηκεναι αυτη δε η δια[θηκη
[ην διαθησο]μαι προς αυτους μετα τας ημερ[ας εκι
[νας λεγει κ]ς διδους νομους μου επι καρδια[ς αυτῶ
[και επι τη]ν διανοιαν αυτων [[α]] επιγραψω αυ[τους
125 *[και των αμ]αρτιων και [τ]ων ανομιων αυτων ου μι*
[μνησθησο]μαι ετι : οπου δε αφεσις του[τ]ων ουκ
[ετι προσφο]ρα περι αμαρτιαις : εχοντες ουν αδελ
[φοι παρρ]ησιαν εις την εισοδον των αγιων εν τω
[αιματι Ι]υ ην ενεκενισεν ημιν οδον προσ
130 *[φατο]ν και ζωσαν δια του καταπετασματος*
[τουτ] εστιν της σαρκος αυτου : και ἱερεα μεγαν
[επι] τον οικον του θυ προσερχωμεθα μετα

Col. vi

. . . . . .

π̣ρ̣[σω δοκειτε χειρονος αξιωθησεται τιμωριας ο τον x. 29
ὑ̣[ιον] τ̣[ο]υ [θυ καταπατησας και το αιμα της διαθηκης
135 κοινον η̣[γησομενος εν ω ηγιασθη και το πνα της χα
ριτος ενυ[βρισας οιδαμεν γαρ τον ειποντα εμοι εκ
δικησις εγ[ω ανταποδωσω και παλιν κρινει κς τον
λαον αυτο[υ φοβερον το εμπεσειν εις χειρας θυ
ζωντος : [αναμιμνησκεσθε δε τας προτερον ημε
140 ρας εν α[ις φωτισθεντες πολλην αθλησιν υπεμειναται
παθημ[ατων τουτο μεν ονειδισμοις τε και θλιψεσιν

Col. vii.

ξδ

[θεα]τριζομενοι : τουτο δε κοινων[ο]ι των ουτως x. 33
[ανα]σ̣τρεφομενων γενηθεντες : και γαρ τοις δεσ
145 [μιοι]ς συνεπαθησατε : και την αρπαγην των υπαρ
[χον]των υμων μετα χαρας προσεδεξασθ[ε] : γινωσ
[κο]ντες εχιν εαυτους κρισσωνα ὑπαρξιν και μεν[ο]υ
[σαν] : μη αποβαλητε ουν την παρρησιαν ὑμων
[ητ]ις εχει μεγαλην μισθαποδοσιαν ὑπομονης
150 [γαρ] εχεται χρειαν ἵνα το θελημα του [θ]υ ποιησαντες
[κο]μισησθε την επαγγελειαν : ετ[ι] μικρον οσον :
[οσο]ν ο ερχομενος ηξει και ου χρονισει ο δε δικαιος
[εκ] πιστεως ζησεται : και εαν υποστειληται : [ο]υκ ευ
[δοκ]ει μου η ψυχη εν αυτω : ημις δε ουκ εσμεν [υ]ποστο
155 [λη]ς εις απωλειαν : αλλα πιστεως εις περιποι[η]σιν ψυ
[χη]ς̣ : εστι δε πιστις ελπιζομενων πραγματ[ω]ν απο̣σ̣τα
[σις] ελ{λ}ενχος ου βλεπομενων : εν αυτη γαρ εμαρτυρη
[θησ]αν οι πρεσβυτεροι : πιστι νοουμεν κατηρτεισθαι
[του]ς αιωνας ρηματι θυ εις το μη εκ φ[[ε]]αινομενων το
160 [βλ]επομενον γεγονέναι : πειστει πλειονα θυσιαν Αβε̣λ

παρα Καειν προσηνεν'κεν δι ης εμαρτυρηθη ειναι δ[ι
[κ]αιος μαρτυρουντος επι τοις δωροις αυτω του θυ και δ[ι αυ
της αποθανων ετι λαλει : πιστει Ενωχ' μετετεθ[η] του [μη
ϊδειν θανατον και ουχ ευρισκετο διοτι μετεθηκεν α[υτον
165 ο θς : προ γαρ της μεταθεσεως μεμαρτυρηται ευηρ[εστηκε

Col. viii.

[ξε
ναι τω θω [χωρις δε πιστεως αδυνατον ευαρεστησαι xi. 5
πιστευσαι γ[αρ δει τον προσερχομενον θω οτι εστιν
και τοις ζη[τουσιν αυτον μισθαποδοτης γινεται πιστει
170 χρηματι[σθεις Νωε περι των μηδεπω βλεπομενων
ευλαβηθε[ις κατεσκευασεν κιβωτον εις σωτηριαν του
οικου αυτου [δι ης κατεκρινεν τον κοσμον και της κατα
πισ[τι]ν δικα[ιοσυνης εγενετο κληρονομος πιστει καλου
μενος Αβραα[μ υπηκουσεν εξελθειν εις τοπον ον ημελ
175 λεν λαμβαν[ειν εις κληρονομιαν και εξηλθεν μη επι
σταμενος π[ου ερχεται πιστει παρωκησεν εις γην της
επαγγελιας [ως αλλοτριαν εν σκηναις κατοικησας μετα
Ϊσακ' και Ϊακ[ωβ των συνκληρονομων της επαγγελιας της
αυτης : εξ[εδεχετο γαρ την τους θεμελιους εχουσαν πο
180 λιν : ης τεχν[ιτης και δημιουργος ο θς πιστει και αυτης
αρρα δυναμ[ιν εις καταβολην σπερματος ελαβεν και πα
ρα καιρον ηλ[ικιας επει πιστον ηγησατο τον επαγγειλαμε
νον· διο και [αφ ενος εγεννηθησαν και ταυτα νενεκρω
μενου : κα[θως τα αστρα του ουρανου τω πληθει και
185 ως η αμμος η [παρα το χειλος της θαλασσης η αναριθμητος
κατα πιστιν α[πεθανον ουτοι παντες μη κομισαμενοι τας
[ε]παγγελεια[ς αλλα πορρωθεν αυτας ιδοντες και ασ
[π]ασαμενοι κ[αι ομολογησαντες οτι ξενοι και παρεπιδημοι
[ε]ισιν επι της [γης

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Col. ix.

190 ξζ

[πρωτοτοκα θιγη α]υτων : πιστει διεβησαν την Ερυθραν xi. 28
[θαλασσαν ως δια ξηρ]ας γης : η[ς] πειραν λαβοντες οι Αιγυ
[πτιοι κατεποθησαν] πιστει τα τιχη Ιεριχω επεσαν κυκλω
[θεντα επι επτα ημερα]ς : πιστει Ρααβ η πορνη ου συναπω
195 [λετο τοις απιθησασιν] δεξαμενη τους κατασκοπους μετ'
[ειρηνης και τι ετι λε]γω επιλιψει γαρ με διηγουμενον ο χρο
[νος περι Γεδεων Βαρ]ακ' Σαμψω Ἰεφθαε Δαυειδ' τε και Σαμουηλ
[και των προφητων] οι δια πιστεως κατηγωνισαντο βασιλειας
[ηργασαντο δικαιοσυ]νην : επετυχον επαγγελιων [:] εφρα
200 [ξαν στοματα λεον]των : εσβεσαν δυναμιν πυρος [:] εφυ
[γον στοματα μαχ]αιρης : εδυναμωθησαν απο ασθενει
[ας εγενηθησαν ισ]χυροι εμ πολεμω παρεμβολας εκλει
[ναν αλλοτριων ελ]αβον γυνεκα[. .] εξ αναστασεως τους
[νεκρους αυτων α]λλοι δε ετοιμ[πα]νισθησαν ου προσδεξα
205 [μενοι την απολυτ]ρωσιν ἵνα κρειττονος αναστασεως
[τυχωσιν ετεροι δε] εμπεγμων και μαστειγων πειραν
[ελαβον ετι δε δεσμ]ων και φυλακης : ελιθασθησαν
[επρισθησαν ε]πι[ρα]σθησαν : εν φονω μαχαιρας α
[πεθανον περ]ιη[λ]θον εν μηλωταις εν εγιοις δερμα
210 [σιν υστερουμενοι] θλειβομενοι : κακουχουμενοι
[ων ουκ ην αξιος] ο [κο]σμος : επι ερημειαις πλανωμε
[νοι και ορεσι και σ]πηλεοις και ταις οπαις της γης : και
[ουτοι παντες μαρτυρηθε]ντες δια της πιστεως ουκ εκομι
[σαντο την επ]αγγε[λ]ειαν του θυ περι ημων κριττον
215 [τι προβλεψα]μενου ἵνα μη χωρις ημων τελειωθωσ[ι]
[τοιγαρουν και] ημεις τοσουτον εχοντες περικιμενον

Col. x.

ξη

ημ[ιν ν]εφος μαρ[τ]υρων ογκον : αποθ[εμενοι] παντα και xii. 1
τη[ν ευπ]εριστατον αμαρτειαν δι υπομονης τρεχωμεν τō

220 π[ροκειμ]ενον ημειν αγωνα αφορωντες εις τον της πιστεως
αρχηγον και τελειωτην Ἰν ος αντι της προκειμενης αυτω χα
ρας ὑπεμεινεν τον σταυρον αισχυνης καταφρονησας εν
δεξια τε [τ]ου θρονου του θυ κεκαθι[κ]εν : αναλογισασθαι γαρ
τοιαυτην ὑπομεμενηκοτα ὑπο των αμαρτωλων. εις αὐ
225 τους αντιλογιαν ἵνα μη καμητε ταις ψυχαις εκλελυμε
νοι : ουπω μεχρι αιματος αντικατεστητε προς την α
μαρτιαν αγων[ι]ζομενοι και εκλελησθαι της παρακλησεως
ητις ὑμειν ως ὑιοις διαλεγεται ὑιε μου μη ολιγωρει παιδει
ας κυ και μη εγλυου ὑπ αυτου ελεγχομενος : ον γαρ α
230 γαπα κς πεδευει μαστειγοι δε παντα ὑιον ον παραδεχεται[ι
εις παιδειαν υπομ[ε]νεται ως ὑ[ι]οις ὑμειν προσφερεται
ο θς τις γαρ ὑιος ον ου πεδευει πατηρ ει δε χωρις [εστ]αι
παιδειας ης μετοχοι γεγονασι παντες : αρα νο[θοι και] ουκ
ὑιοι εστε : ειτα τους μεν της σαρκος ημων π[ατ]ερα[ς ε]ιχο
235 μεν παιδευτας και ενετρεπομεθα : ου πολυ δε μαλ
λον ὑποταγησομεθα τω πατρι των πνευματων και ζη
σομεν : οι μεν γαρ προς ολιγας ημερας κατα το δοκοῦ
αυτοις επαιδευον : ο δε επι το συμφερον εις το μετα
λαβειν της αγιοτατης αυτου : πασα δε παιδεια προ⟨ς⟩ μεν το
240 παρον ου δοκει χαρας ειναι αλλα λυπης υστερον δε καρ
πον ειρηνικον τοις δι αυτης γεγυμνασμενοις αποδιδῳ[σῖ

Col. xi.

[ξθ
δικ[αιοσυνης διο τας παρειμενας χειρας και τα παραλελυμε xii. 11
να [γονατα ανορθωσατε και τροχιας ορθας ποιειτε τοις
245 πο[σιν υμων ινα μη το χωλον εκτραπη ιαθη δε μαλλον
ειρ[ηνην διωκετε μετα παντων και τον αγιασμον ου χωρις
ου[δεις οψεται τον κν επισκοπουντες μη τις υστερων απο της
χα[ριτος του θυ μη τις ριζα πικριας ανω φυουσα ενοχλη
κα[ι δι αυτης μιανθωσιν οι πολλοι μη τις πορνος η βεβηλος
250 ως [Ησαυ ος αντι βρωσεως μιας απεδοτο τα πρωτοτοκια αυτου ισ

τε̣ [γαρ οτι και μετεπειτα θελων κληρονομησαι την ευλογι
αν̣ [

. . . . . .

14. ι(ησου)ν: so ℵABCD, &c., W-H.; Χριστον Ιησουν EKL, &c., T-R.

15. εν τω οικω: so B; εν ολω τω οικω ℵACDE, &c., T-R., W-H. ολω may have come in from verse 5.

16. δοξης ουτος: so KLM, &c., T-R.; ουτος δοξης ℵABCDE, &c., W-H.

19. παντα: so ℵABCDKM, &c., W-H.; τα π. EL, &c., T-R.

23. εαν: so ℵBDE, &c., W-H.; εανπερ AC, &c., T-R. κ of καυχη[μα has been altered apparently from χ.

24. ελπ]ιδος κατασχωμεν: so B; ελπ. μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν κατασχ. ℵACDE, &c., T-R., W-H. The phrase μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν κατασχωμεν recurs in verse 14 and may have come in here from that passage.

31. προσωκθεισα: l. προσώχθισα; the θ has been altered from τ.

32. εν τη καρδια αυτων διο: τη καρδια αυτοι δε MSS.

36–40. The position of the narrow strip placed near the beginning of these lines is uncertain, but it suits very well here. The recto being blank does not help to decide the question.

37. πα[ρα]καλεσατε is another otherwise unattested reading: παρακαλειτε MSS.

38. α[χ]ρι: so M; αχρις other MSS., T-R., W-H.

39. τις ε]ξ υμων: so ℵAC, &c., T-R., W-H.; εξ υμων τις BDE, &c. l. ἁμαρτίας.

42. A double point may be lost after σχωμεν.

51. ηδυνασθησαν: ηδυνηθησαν MSS. The form ἠδυνάσθην occurs e.g. in Matt. xvii. 16 (B), Mark vii. 24 (ℵB).

The first ε of εισε[λ]θειν is written over a double point.

58. συνκεκερασμενους: so ABCD, &c., W-H. in text; συνκεκερασμενος ℵ, W-H. mg., συγκεκραμένος T-R.

59. γαρ: so BDE, &c.; ουν ℵAC.

60. την was certainly omitted before καταπα]υσιν as in BD; την is found in other MSS. and is read by W-H. and T-R.

63. που: γάρ που T-R., W-H. with all MSS. except 109[lat.] which agrees with the papyrus in omitting γαρ.

64. κα[τε]παυσες is a mistake for κα[τε]παυσεν.

66. εισελευ[σο]νται: so D and some cursives; ει εισελευσονται other MSS., T-R., W-H.

70–1. The vestiges of [κα]θ[ω]ς are very slight, but are a sufficient indication that the papyrus read προειρηται with ℵACDE, &c., W-H., rather than ειρηται (correctors of DE, KL, T-R.), since the division κα]θως does not account for the traces of ink at the end of l. 70.

80. σ of πεση was converted from τ.

81. ενεργης: so ℵACDE, &c., T-R., W-H.; εναργης B.

85. εν]νυων is for εν]νοιων.

96. It is almost certain that the papyrus read ευρωμεν, since without this word the line would be unaccountably short; B stands alone in omitting it.

99. The line is sufficiently long without τε after δωρα (om. B and an early corrector of D), and in view of the tendency of the papyrus the omission is probable.

106. ουτως, κ.τ.λ.: the MSS. here have καθωσπερ (ℵABD) or καθαπερ και (om. και CD) Λαρων ουτως, κ.τ.λ., but there is evidently not room for all this in the papyrus. The only

other authority for any omission here is K, which leaves out *ουτως και ο Χριστος*; but even without these words the line would remain rather too long. To omit *καθωσπερ και Ααρων* suits the space better and does not damage the sense.

112. The papyrus may of course have read *αι]ματος* (DE) for *σω]ματος* and *αρχιερευς* (AC) for *ιερευς* (ℵDEKL).

115. *αμαρτιαν*: *αμαρτιας* MSS.

116. The second *ν*, if it be *ν*, in *προσενενκας* was converted from *ι* or *υ*. The previous *ν* also seems to have been altered.

118. *εχθροι*: *εχθροι αυτου* MSS. The superfluous *ι* in *ποδιω[ν* was a slip due to the preceding *υποποδιον*.

124. The scribe apparently began to write *αυτους* before *επιγραψω*, but that the *α* was meant to be deleted is not certain and its partial effacement may be accidental.

125. *αμ]αρτιων*: so D and some cursives; *ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν* T-R., W-H., with other MSS.

125–6. *μι[μνησθησο]μαι*: l. *μὴ [μνησθήσο]μαι*.

127. *αμαρτιαις*: *αμαρτιας* MSS. The second *ε* of *εχοντες* has been altered from *α*.

139. *τας προτερον ημε]ρας*: so T-R., W-H., with most MSS.; *τας πρ. αμαρτιας* ℵ, *ταις προτεραις ημεραις* D.

144. *δεσ[μιοι]ς*: so AD, W-H.; *δεσμοις μου* ℵEHKL, &c., T-R. We cannot of course be sure that the papyrus did not have *δεσμοις*, but the absence of *μου* is the important thing and is much in favour of *δεσμιοις*.

147. *εαυτους*: so ℵA, W-H.; *εαυτοις* DE, &c., *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* T-R. with a few minuscules.

κρισσωνα = *κρείσσονα*: so ℵA, W-H.; *κρειττονα* DE, &c., T-R.

υπαρξιν: so ℵAD, W-H.; *υπ. εν ουρανοις* E, &c., T-R.

151. There is an apparently accidental diagonal dash passing from the top of the supposed *μ* through the *ι*.

ετ[ι]: *ετι γαρ* MSS.

152. *χρονισει*: so ℵD, W-H.; *χρονιει* AE, &c., T-R.

152–3. The papyrus certainly agreed with DE, &c., in omitting *μου*, which is found in ℵA after *δικαιος*. *δίκαιός [μου]* W-H., *δίκαιος* T-R.

153. *πιστεως*: *πιστεως μου* D.

154. *μου η ψυχη*: so DE; *η ψ. μου* T-R., W-H., with other MSS.

156. *πραγματ[ω]ν αποστα[σις]* (l. *ὑπόστα[σις]*) is the reverse order to that of all the MSS.; *πραγματων* is usually connected with *βλεπομενων*.

157. *αυτη*: so two cursives (47, 115); *εν ταυτη* other MSS., T-H., W-H.

159–60. *το [βλ]επομενον*: so ℵADE, W-H.; *τα βλεπομενα* KL, &c., T-R.

161. *προσηνενκεν*: *προσηνεγκεν τω θεω* MSS.

162. *αυτω του θ(εο)υ*: *αυτου* was originally written but was altered to *αυτω*. *αυτου τω θεω* ℵAD, *αυτου του θεου* EKL, &c., T-R., W-H.

163. *λαλει*: so ℵA, W-H., T-R.; *λαλειται* DE, &c.

164. *ευρισκετο*: so KL, &c., T-R.; *ηυρισκετο* ℵADE, W-H.

165. *ευηρ[εστηκε]ναι*: so ℵDE; *εναρ.* AKL, W-H., T-R. If *ευηρεστηκεναι* was correctly written this line was somewhat longer than those preceding.

168. *θ(ε)ω*: so ℵ; the papyrus may of course have had *τω θ(ε)ω* like ADE, &c. (so T-R., W-H.), but in view of its tendency to shortness this is less probable.

169. *ζη[τουσιν*: so P only; *εκζητουσιν* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

175. *λαμβαν[ειν εις κλ.*: the usual reading; *κλ. λαμβανειν* ℵ.

178. Ισακ is also the spelling of D; Ισαακ other MSS., T-R., W-H.

180–1. *αυτης | αρρα* is for *αυτη Σαρρα*. The papyrus agreed with ℵAE, &c., in omitting *στειρα* or *στειρα ουσα* which is found after *Σαρρα* (or after *δυναμιν* or *ελαβεν*) in D and other MSS.

182. It is practically certain that the papyrus did not read *ετεκεν* after *ηλικιας* with EKL and other MSS. (so T-R.). It is omitted in ℵAD, W-H.

185. *ως η*: so all the best MSS.; *ωσει* T-R. with a few minuscules.

186. Considerations of space make *κομισαμενοι* (ℵ, &c., W-H.) preferable to *λαβοντες* (DE, &c., T-R.).

187. The papyrus evidently omitted *και πεισθεντες* which is found in some minuscules and read in the T-R.

188. This line is rather long, and the papyrus may have had *παροικοι* for *παρεπιδημοι*, as P.

192. *ξηρ]ας γης*: so ℵADE, W-H.; om. *γης* KL, &c., T-R.

193. *επεσαν*: so ℵAD, W-H; *επεσε* EKL, T-R.

194. *πορνη*: *επιλεγομενη πορνη* ℵ.

196. *γαρ με*: so EKL, &c., T-R.; *με γαρ* ℵAD, W-H.

197. The papyrus agrees with ℵA (so W-H.) in the omission of conjunctions between the names as far as *Δανειδ*. B. *τε καὶ* Σ. *καὶ* Ἰ. T-R. with other MSS. The spelling *Σαμψω* is attested as a variant by D. The *ε* of *Δανειδ* was originally omitted; *Δανειδ* ℵD, W-H., *Δανιδ*, *Δᾱδ*, and *Δαβιδ* (T-R.) other MSS.

201. *μαχ]αιρης*: so ℵAD, W-H.; *μαχαιρας* other MSS., T-R. But the papyrus is inconsistent and has *μαχαιρας* in l. 208.

εδυναμωθησαν: ℵAD, W-H.; *ενεδυναμωθησαν* EKL, &c., T-R.

203. The size of the lacuna is inconclusive as to whether the papyrus read *γυνεκα[ς]* (ℵAD) or *γυνεκα[ις]*, i.e. *γυναῖκες* (EKL, &c., T-R., W-H.).

208. *[επρισθησαν ε]πι[ρα]σθησαν*: this is also the order of AE, &c., and T-R.; *επειρ. επρ.* ℵD, &c., W-H.

μαχαιρας: cf. l. 201, note.

211. *επι*: so ℵA, W-H.; *εν* DE, &c., T-R.

216. *τοσουτον*: ℵ *τηλικουτον*.

222. *τον σταυρον*: so D; om. *τον* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

223. *κεκαθι[κ]εν*: so the uncials, W-H.; *ἐκάθισεν* T-R. with some minuscules.

224. The papyrus agrees with D in omitting *τον* which is read before *τοιαυτην* in other MSS. and by T-R., W-H.

αυτους: so a corrector of ℵ; *εαυτους* ℵDE, W-H., *εαυτον* A, *αυτον* KL, T-R.

225. *εκλελυμενοι*: so D; *εκλυομενοι* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

226. *μεχρι*: so D; *μεχρις* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

227. *αγων[ι]ζομενοι*: *ανταγωνιζομενοι* MSS.

229. *και μη*: *μηδε* MSS.

231. *εις*: so most MSS., W-H.; *εἰ* T-R. with a few minuscules.

232. *τις γαρ*: so ℵA, W-H.; *τις γαρ εστιν* DE, &c., T-R.

233–4. *και ουχ υιοι εστε* is also the order of ℵAD, W-H.; *εστε κ. ο. υι.* KL, &c., T-R.

235. *πολυ δε*: *δε* is also attested as a variant by D and was added by the third corrector of ℵ; *πολυ* ℵAD, W-H., *πολλω* KL, &c., T-R.

239. *αγιοτατης* is a graphical error for *αγιοτητος*. *πασα δε* is the reading of AKL, &c., T-R; *πασα μεν* ℵ, &c., W-H.

241. The *ε* of *ειρηνικον* has apparently been corrected and the *η* of *αυτης* was altered from *ο* or *οι*, which perhaps reflects the variant *δι αυτοις* recorded in D; but it may well have been a mere slip.

658. Certificate of Pagan Sacrifice.

15·5 × 7 *cm.*

An interesting survival of the Decian persecution of the Christians in A.D. 250 is preserved in this papyrus, which is an example of the *libelli* or declarations which suspects were compelled to make that they had sacrificed to the pagan gods. Two only of these *libelli* have hitherto been published, one at Berlin (B. G. U. 287: Krebs, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* 1893; Harnack, *Theol. Literaturz.* 1894, p. 38), the other at Vienna (Wessely, *Sitzungsb. Wien. Akad.* 1894; Harnack, *Theol. Literaturz.* 1894, p. 162). Both of those documents were from the Fayûm; the present specimen, though from another nome, has the same characteristic phrases, which were evidently a stereotyped formula, and confirms in all respects the emendations and deductions proposed by Harnack in connexion with the Berlin papyrus. Like them also it is addressed to a commission which was specially appointed to conduct the inquisition against the Christians.

Τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν [καὶ
θυσιῶν πόλ[εως
παρ' Αὐρηλίου Ἀ[. . . . .
θίωνος Θεοδώρου μη[τρὸς
5 *Παντωνυμίδος ἀπὸ τ̣ῆ̣[ς*
αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἀεὶ μὲν
θύων καὶ σπένδων [τοῖ]ς
θεοῖς [δ]ιετέλ[εσα ἔ]τ̣ι δ̣ὲ
καὶ νῦν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν
10 *κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ[έ]ν[τα*
ἔσπεισα καὶ ἔθυσα κα[ὶ
τῶν ἱερῶν ἐγευσάμην
ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ μου Αὐρη-
λίῳ Διοσκόρῳ καὶ τῇ
15 *θυγατρί μου Αὐρηλίᾳ*
Λαΐδι. ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς ὑπο-
σημιώσασθαι μοι.
(ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Γαΐου Μεσσίου Κυίντου
20 *Τραιανοῦ Δεκίου*
Εὐσεβοῦ[ς Εὐ]τυχοῦς
[Σ̣εβασ]τοῦ [Παῦ]νι κ.
[. . . . .]ν̣( ) [
. . . . . .

1. ἵερων Pap.; so in l. 12. 12. εγευσαμῃ Pap. 16. λαϊδι Pap. ο of υπο above the line. 19. γαϊου Pap. 20. τραϊανου Pap.

'To the superintendents of offerings and sacrifices at the city from Aurelius . . . thion son of Theodorus and Pantonymis, of the said city. It has ever been my custom to make sacrifices and libations to the gods, and now also I have in your presence in accordance with the command poured libations and sacrificed and tasted the offerings together with my son Aurelius Dioscorus and my daughter Aurelia Lais. I therefore

request you to certify my statement. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 20.'

1–2. The Berlin and Vienna *libelli* are addressed *τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ᾑρημένοις*, omitting *ἱερῶν*.

6. *ἀεὶ μέν* is written in the original rather below the line and there are traces of ink over *ἀεί*, so there seems to have been some correction.

13–4. *τῇ θυγατρί*: women were clearly included in the Decian Edict; cf. the Vienna *libellus*, which is from two men with their wives, and the 5th Edict of Maximin (Euseb. *de Mart. Pol.* ix. 2), quoted by Harnack, *πανδημεὶ πάντας ἄνδρας ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ οἰκέταις καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑπομαζίοις παισὶ θύειν καὶ σπένδειν, κ.τ.λ.*

23. A signature begins at this line, though whether it is that of the sender of the declaration or of an official is doubtful. The stroke above the supposed *ν* which we have taken to represent an abbreviation may be only part of a long paragraphus below the date.

II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

659. Pindar, *Παρθένειον* and Ode.

12·8 × 49 *cm.* Plates III, IV.

Fragments of a roll containing parts of at least five columns of lyric poetry in Pindaric dialect, written in good-sized round uncials, which we assign to the latter half of the first century B.C. Occasional accents, breathings, and stops (high and middle point) have been added by the original scribe, who has also made a few corrections of his work; the text, however, was not left in a very perfect condition, and several alterations are necessary on metrical and other grounds. The first three columns, but for the loss of a few lines at the beginning of each, are in good condition; the fourth becomes more fragmentary, while Col. v, which probably succeeded immediately and to which the majority of the small unplaced pieces appear to belong, is hopelessly broken. The position of these is to some extent fixed by the fact that the verso of Cols. i–iii was utilized for a collection of epigrams (**662**); for since the verso of most of the scraps is blank, they must be placed later than the upper half of the third column.

Although the Pindaric authorship of these new poems is not definitely established by the coincidence of any part of them with already extant fragments, their style and diction leave little room for doubt as to the identity of the poet. It is therefore a piece of great good fortune that the second at

any rate of the two odes comprised by the papyrus (ll. 21 sqq.) belongs to a class hitherto practically unrepresented in what survives of Pindar's works. This poem was composed in honour of Aeoladas (l. 29) the father of the Pagondas (l. 30) who commanded the Thebans at the battle of Delium (Thucyd. iv. 91–6), and his praises are put in the mouth of a maiden (ll. 26, 46, &c.)—a circumstance which at first led us to suppose that the writer was a woman. But Blass, to whom we are especially indebted in connexion with this papyrus, is clearly right in regarding the piece as one of the Παρθένεια, or choruses for girls, which figure in the lists of Pindar's works, and are exemplified in a few meagre quotations (among which is perhaps to be reckoned **221.** vii. 6–12). Can the poem be characterized still more closely? In near relation to the Παρθένεια there stood a series known as Δαφνηφορικά, so called because the singers bore branches of laurel. The catalogue of Pindar's works as given by Suidas distinguishes the Παρθένεια from the Δαφνηφορικά, while the list given in the Codex Ambrosianus, which is usually recognized as the superior authority, does not mention the latter class, and apparently includes it in the Παρθένεια; cf. Proclus, *Chrest. ap.* Phot., *Bibl.* 239 Παρθ. οἷς καὶ τὰ δαφνηφορικὰ ὡς εἰς γένος πίπτει. It is then quite possible that in the present poem the rather prominent allusions to δάφνη (ll. 27–8, 73), in one of which the speaker actually describes herself as carrying a laurel branch, may possess a special significance. On the other hand there is here no sign of the religious character which seems to have belonged to the Δαφνηφορικά (cf. Proclus, *ibid.*); Pindar is indeed said in the *Vita Ambrosiana* to have dedicated one of these poems to his son Daïphantus, but the circumstances are unknown. For the present, therefore, it is sufficient to call attention to these references, and to assign the ode provisionally to the more comprehensive class of the Παρθένεια, or possibly to the κεχωρισμένα τῶν Παρθενείων mentioned in the Ambrosian list and elsewhere. The obscurity of the latter category might have the advantage of covering the other poem partially preserved in the papyrus, which was also in honour of Aeoladas (l. 12), but, as is shown by the occurrence of a masculine participle (l. 11), was not designed for a female chorus. No doubt if both pieces were Δαφνηφορικά, the difference of sex would cause no difficulty; but in the absence of further allusions to δάφνη such an assumption has little to commend it. Perhaps this ode was an ἐγκώμιον or simply Epinician in character, and the juxtaposition of the two pieces was merely due to their identity of subject.

The metre of the Παρθένειον is distinguished, like its language, by an ease and simplicity which fully bear out the reputation of this class of Pindar's odes; cf. Dionys. Halicarn. *Demosth.* 39, where after citing the poetry of Aeschylus and Pindar as an example of want of connexion, abruptness, and

unexpected changes of construction, the critic proceeds χωρὶς ὅτι μὴ τὰ Παρθένεια καὶ εἴ τινα τούτοις ὁμοίας ἀπαιτεῖ κατασκευάς· διαφαίνεται δέ τις ὁμοία κἀν τούτοις εὐγένεια καὶ σεμνότης ἁρμονίας τὸν ἀρχαῖον φυλάττουσα πίνον. Strophes and epodes consist alike of five verses having a prevailing choriambic element. The scheme is as follows:—

Strophes.	*Epodes.*
⏑ ⏒ ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏒ – ⏑ –	– ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏒ – ⏑ – |	– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	– – ⏑ ⏑ – – |
– ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – |	– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
– – ⏑ ⏑ – –	– – ⏑ ⏑ – –

Lines 1 and 3 in the strophe, 1, (2) and 4 in the epode stand in synaphia with the lines succeeding; and a single long syllable before or after a choriambus is probably to be regarded as lengthened by 'syncope' to the extent of an additional short syllable, e.g. – – ⏑ ⏑ – – = ⌊ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⌋, or – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –. The commencement of each new strophe is marked in the original by an elaborate coronis, and the antistrophes and epodes are commonly denoted in the same way by paragraphi, which are, however, sometimes omitted. The metrical scheme shows that the number of lines missing at the tops of Cols. iii and iv must be either 8 or 23—a larger figure is out of the question. A loss of 8 lines would give a roll of the likely enough height of about 20 *cm.*, and is a satisfactory supposition in other respects. Each column would accordingly consist of from 28–29 lines, and a lacuna of about 8 or 9 lines may therefore be postulated at the beginning of the first two columns. On this view the remains of the second poem extend to the second verse of the eighth strophe, or the 107th line from the commencement; the numeration given in the text below refers only to the lines actually preserved in the papyrus.

The length of the strophe of the first poem (Col. i and the lost portion of Col. ii) is also five verses; the epode was longer, how much longer depends upon the number of lines lost at the top of Col. ii. If it be assumed that no space was left between the end of this ode and the commencement of the next, as the analogy of the Bacchylides papyrus and **408** would indicate, the epode extended to the rather unexpected length of 14 verses; if on the other hand the division was marked by a blank space, this number would be lowered by two or three lines. A different figure would of course result from the adoption of the hypothesis that the loss in Cols. iii–iv amounts to 23 verses, which would bring down the epode of the previous poem to a maximum of 9 lines.

We append the scheme of the metre :—

Strophes.	*Epodes.*
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – –	– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –	– ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – |	– ⏑ – ⏑ – –
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –	– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
– ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓	– ⏑ – – ⏑ –
	. . . . .
	– ⏑ – ⏑ – – (= l. 5.)

Lines 4–5 in the strophe and 1–3 and 4–5 in the epode are connected by synaphia.

Col. i.

	. . . . .		
	[21 letters] . ω̣[.]		
	[ ]		
	[. . . . . .]ΟC[. . . .]ΘΕΙΑΙCΕΡ		. . . ος . . . . θείαις ερ-
	[. . . . . .]Δ̣Ι̣ΑΙ		. . . δια̣
5	⏚ ΜΑΝΤ̣Ι̣Ç̣ω̣CΤΕΛΕ[.]CΩ	5	μάντις ὡς τελέ[σ]σω
	⏚ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΟC· ΤΙΜΑΙ		ἱεραπόλος· τιμαὶ
	ΔΕΒΡΟΤΟΙCΙΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝΑΙ·		δὲ βροτοῖσι κεκριμέναι·
	ΠΑΝΤΙΔΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΟCΑΝΔΡΙΚΕΙΤΑΙ		παντὶ δ' ἐπὶ φθόνος ἀνδρὶ κεῖται
	ΑΡΕΤΑC· ΟΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΕΧΩΝΥΠΟCΙ		ἀρετᾶς, ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχων ὑπὸ σι-
10	ΓΑΙΜΕΛΑΙΝΑΙΚΑΡΑΚΕΚΡΥΠΤΑΙ·	10	γᾷ μελαίνᾳ κάρα κέκρυπται.
	ΦΙΛΕΩΝΔΑΝΕΥΧΟΙΜΑΝ		φιλέων δ' ἂν εὐχοίμαν
	ΚΡΟΝΙΔΑΙCΕΠΑΙΟΛΑΔΑΠ̣		Κρονίδαις ἐπ' Αἰολάδᾳ
	ΚΑΙΓΕΝΕΙΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΤΕΤΑχ̣Θ̣ΑΙ		καὶ γένει εὐτυχίαν τετάχθαι
	ΟΜΑΛΟΝΧΡΟΝΟΝ· ΑΘΑΝΑΤΑΙΔΕΒΡΟΤΟΙC		ὁμαλὸν χρόνον· ἀθάναται δὲ βροτοῖς
15	ΑΜΕΡΑΙCΩΜΑΔΕCΤΙΘΝΑΤΟΝ·	15	ἀμέραι, σῶμα δ' ἐστὶ θνατόν.
	ΑΛΛΩΙΤΙΝΙΜΗΛΙΠΟΤΕ		ἀλλ' ᾧτινι μὴ λιπότε-
	> ΚΝΟCCΦΑΛΗΙΠΑΜΠΑΝΟΙ̣Κ̣ΟCΒΙ̣Α̣Ι		κνος σφαλῇ πάμπαν οἶκος βιαί-
	ΑΙΔΑΜΕΙCΑΝΑΓΚΑΙ		α̣ δαμεὶς ἀνάγκα̣,
	ΖΩΕΙΚΑΜΑΤΟΝΠΡΟΦΥΓΩΝΑΝΙ̣Α		ζώει κάματον προφυγὼν ἀνια-
20	ΡΟΝΤΟΓ̣[.]ΡΠΡΙΝΓΕΝΕ	20	ρόν, τὸ γ[ὰ]ρ πρὶν γενέ-[σθαι

στρ.

ἀντ.

ἐπ.

Col. ii.

	[. . . . . .]ΧΡΥϹΟΠ[	– ⏑̄ – ⏑ ⏑ χρυσοπ[επλ ⏑̄ – ⏑ –	στρ. α′
-8	[. . .]ΔΩΜ[. . .]ΛΕϹΗϹΤ[. . . .]ΜΕ . [	– δωμ – ⏑ λέσης τ ⏑ – με – ⏑ –	
	[. . .]ΙΓΑΡΟ[. . .]ΙΑϹ	[– ε]ι γὰρ ὁ [Λοξ]ίας	
	[.]Ρ[.]ΦΡΩ[.]ΑΘΑΝΑΤΑΝΧΑΡΙΝ	[π]ρ[ό]φρω[ν] ἀθανάταν χάριν	
25	ΘΗΒΑΙϹΕΠΙΜΙΞΩΝ·	25 Θήβαις ἐπιμίξων.	
	ΑΛΛΑΖΩϹΑΜΕΝΑΤΕΠΕΠΛΟΝΩΚΕΩϹ	ἀλλὰ ζωσαμένα τε πέπλον ὠκέως	ἀντ. α′
	ΧΕΡϹΙΝΤΕΝΜΑΛΑΚΑΙϹΙΝΟΡΠΑΚΑΓΛΑΟΝ	χερσίν τ' ἐν μαλακαῖσιν ὅρπακ' ἀγλαὸν	
	ΔΑΦΝΑϹΟΧΕΟΙϹΑΠΑΝ	δάφνας ὀχέοισα πάν-	
	ΔΟΞΟΝΑΙΟΛΑΔΑϹΤΑΘΜΟΝ	δοξον Αἰολάδα σταθμὸν	
30	ΥΙΟΥΤΕΠΑΓΩΝΔΑ[[Ι]]	30 υἱοῦ τε Παγώνδα	
	ΥΜΝΗϹΩϹΤΕΦΑΝΟΙϹΙΘΑΛ	ὑμνήσω στεφάνοισι θάλ-	ἐπ. α
	ΛΟΙϹΑΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΝΚΑΡΑ·	λοισα παρθένιον κάρα,	
	ϹΕΙΡΗΝΑΔΕΚΟΜΠΟΝ	σειρῆνα δὲ κόμπον	
	ΛΑΙϹΚΩΝΥΠΟΛΩΤΙΝΩΝ	αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων	
35	ΜΙΜΗϹΟΜΑΟΙΔΑΪϹ·	35 μιμήσομ' ἀοιδαῖς,	
-8-	ΚΕΙΝΟΝΟϹΖΕΦΥΡΟΥΤΕϹΙΓΑΖΕΙΠΝΟΑϹ	κεῖνον ὃς Ζεφύρου τε σιγάζει πνοὰς	στρ. β′
	ΑΙΨΗΡΑϹ· ΟΠΟΤΑΝΤΕΧΕΙΜΩΝΟϹϹΘΕΝΕΙ	αἰψηράς, ὁπόταν τε χειμῶνος σθένει	
	ΦΡΙϹϹΩΝΒΟΡΕΑϹΕΠΙ	φρίσσων Βορέας ἐπι-	
	ϹΠΕΡΧΗϹΩΚΥΑΛΟΝΤΕΠΟΝΤΟΥ	σπέρχῃ πόντου τ' ὠκύαλον	
40	[.]ΙΠΑΝΕΤΑΡΑΞΕΚΑΙ	40 [ῥ]ιπὰν ἐμάλαξεν | καὶ	

Col. iii.

	[. . . . . .]ΦΕΝ[	– – – φεν ⏑ – ⏑ –	
	[. . . . .]ΑϹΙΚΜ[.]ΖΩΝΝΑ[	– ασ ⏑ ⏑ – –	
	[. . . .]ΛΑΜΕΝ[.]ΑΠΑΡΟΙΘ[	[πολ]λὰ μὲν [τ]ὰ πάροιθ ⏑ – ⏑̄ – ⏑ –	στρ. γ′
	[.]ΑΙΔΑΛΛΟΙϹΕΠΕϹΙΝΤΑΔΑ[	[δ]αιδάλλοις ἔπεσιν· τὰ δ' ᾱ ⏑̄ – ⏑ –	
45	ΖΕΥϹΟΙΔΕΜΕΔΕΠΡΕΠΕΙ	45 Ζεὺς οἶδ', ἐμὲ δὲ πρέπει	
	ΠΑΡΘΕΝΗΙΑΜΕΝΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ	παρθενήϊα μὲν φρονεῖν	
	ΓΛΩϹϹΑΙΤΕΛΕΓΕϹΘΑΙ·	γλώσσᾳ τε λέγεσθαι.	
	ΑΝΔΡΟϹΔΟΥΤΕΓΥΝΑΙΚΟϹΩΝΘΑΛΕϹϹΙΝΕΝ	ἀνδρὸς δ' οὔτε γυναικὸς ὢν θάλεσσιν ἔγ-	ἀντ. γ′

	ΚΕΙΜΑΙΧΡΗΜ[.]Λ̣Α̣ΘΕΙΝΑΟ̣Ι̣ΔᾹΝΠΡΟϹΦΟΡΟΝ·	*κειμαι χρή μ[ε] λαθεῖν ἀοιδὰν πρόσφορον.*
50	ΠΙϹΤᾹΔΑΓΑϹΙΚΛΕΙ	*πιστὰ δ' Ἀγασικλ⟨έ⟩ει*
	ΜΑΡΤΥϹΗΛΥΘΟΝΕϹΧΟΡΟΝ	*μάρτυς ἤλυθον ἐς χορὸν*
	ΕϹΛΟΙϹΤΕΓΟΝΕΥϹΙΝ	*ἐσλοῖς τε γονεῦσιν*
	ΑΜΦΙΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΙϹΙΤΙΜΑΘ̣ΕΝΤΑϹ	*ἀμφὶ προξενίαισι τι-* ἐπ. γ′
	ΤΑΠΑΛΑΙΤΑΝΥΝ	*μαθεῖσιν τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν*
55	ΤΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΕϹϹΙΝ	*τ' ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν*
	ΙΠΠΩΝΤΩΚΥΠΟΔΩΝΠΟ̣[. .]	*ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων πο[λυ-]*
⚓	ΓΝΩΤΟΙϹΕΠΙΝΙΚΑΙϹ·	*γνώτοις ἐπὶ νίκαις,*
-8- ⚐	ΑΙϹΕΝΑΙΟΝΕϹϹΙΝΟΓΧΗ[. . . . . .] . ΑϹ	*αἷς ἐν ἀϊόνεσσιν Ὀγχη[στοῦ κλυ]τᾶς* στρ. δ′
	ΤΑΙϹΔΕΝΑΟΤ̣ΙΤΩΝΙΑϹ . [. . . . . .]Α̣	*ταῖς δὲ ναὸν Ἰτωνίας ἀ[μφ' εὐκλε]ᾶ*
60	ΧΑΙΤΑΝϹΤΕΦΑΝΟΙϹῈΚΌϹ	*χαίταν στεφάνοις ἐκόσ-*
	ΜΗΘΕΝ· ΕΝΤΕΠΙϹΑΙΠΕ̣Ρ̣ΙΠ̣[ ]	*μηθεν, ἔν τε Πίσᾳ περι-*

Col. iv.

	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Ρ̣Ι̣Ζ̣ΑΙΤ̣Ε̣[	*ῥίζᾳ τε ⏑ – –*
	[. .]ΜΝΟΝΑΝ[	*[σε]μνὸν ᾱν ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –*
⚓	ΕΠ̣ΤΑΠΥΛΟΙϹ . [	*– ἑπταπύλοισι[ν.*
-8- 65 ⚐	Ε̣Ν̣ΗΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΠΕΙ̣Τ̣[. . . . . .]Λ̣ΟϹ̣	*ἐνῆκεν καὶ ἔπειτ[α δυσμενὴς χό]λος* στρ. ε′
	ΤΩΝΔΑΝΔΡΩΝΕΝΕ̣[. .]ΝΜΕ̣Ρ̣Ι̣Μ̣ΝΑϹ	*τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἕνε[κε]ν μερίμνας σώφρονος*
Γ̄	ϹΩΦΡΟΝΟϹΕ̣Χ̣Θ̣Ρ̣Α̣Ν̣Ε̣Ρ̣Ι̣ΝΟΥΠ̣ΑΛΙΓ	*ἐχθρὰν ἔριν οὐ παλίγ-*
	ΓΛΩϹϹΟΝΑΛΛΑΔΙΚΑϹ[.]Ι̣ΔΟΥϹ	*γλωσσον ἀλλὰ δίκας [δ]ιδοὺς*
	Π[.] . ΑϹΕ̣ΦΙΛΗ[. .]Ν·	*π[ισ]τὰς (?) ἐφίλη[σε]ν.*
70	ΔΑΜ̣ΑΙΝΑϹΠ̣Α[.] . . . [. . .]ΩΙΝΥΝΜΟΙΠΟΔΙ	*Δαμαίνας πα[ῖ,] ⏑ – ⏑ ῳ νῦν μοι ποδὶ* ἀντ. ε′
	ϹΤΕΙΧΩΝΑΓ̣ΕΟ̣[.]Ι̣ΝΓΑΡ̣Ε̣[.]Φ̣ΡΩΝΕ̣ΨΕΤΑΙ	*στείχων ἁγέο· [τ]ὶν γὰρ ε[ὔ]φρων ἕψεται*
	ΠΡΩΤΑΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ[.]ΔΟΥ	*πρώτα θυγάτηρ [ὁ]δοῦ*
	ΔΑΦΝΑϹΕΥΠΕΤΑΛΟΥϹΧ̣ΕΔ[.]Ν	*δάφνας εὐπετάλου σχεδ[ὸ]ν*
	ΒΑΙΝΟΙϹΑΠΕΔΙΛ̣Ο̣ΙϹ·	*βαίνοισα πεδίλοις*
75	Α̅Ν̅ΔΑΙϹΙϹ̣ΤΡΟΤΑΑ̣ΝΕΠΑ[ ]	*ἂν Δαισιστρότα, ἂν ἐπά-* ἐπ. ε′
	ϹΚΗϹ̣ΕΜΗΔΕ̣Ϲ̣[. .] . . . Λ̣Α̣[. .]	*σκησε μήδεσ[ι – ⏑ –*
	ΑΔΕΡ[. .]ΑϹΑ̣[. . . . . .]	*ἁ δ' ε̄ρ . . ᾰσᾰ – –*
	ΜΥΡΙΩΝΕ̣[. . . . . .]ΙϹ	*μυρίων ᾰ ⏑ – ⏑ ις*

⊥ ΖЄΥΞΑ[. . . . .]	ζεύξα[σα ⏑ – –	στρ. ϛ′
⊤ ΜΗΝ̣ΥΝΝЄ̣ΚΤ̣Α̣[. . . . . .]ΝΑCЄΜΑC	μὴ νῦν νέκτα[ρ ἰδόντ' ἀπὸ κρά]νας ἐμᾶς	
ΔΙΨΩΝΤЄΑ[. . . . . .]Π̣ΑΡΑΛΜΥΡΟΝ	διψῶντ' ᾱ ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – παρ' ἁλμυρὸν	
ΟΙΧЄCΧΟΝ· Є̣[. . . . . .]	οἴχεσθον· ἔ – ⏑ –	

Col. v.

. . . . .		
]Ç̣ΜΥ̣[		
]		
]		
]		
]ΝΤ . [	– – – ⏑⏑ – ντ ⏑ –	ἐπ. ζ′
]Α̣Δ̣ΑΝ	– ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – αδαν	
]	– – ⏑⏑ – –	
] . ΙΝΑΡ	– – – ⏑⏑ – ιν αρ-	
]	– – ⏑⏑ – –	
]ΝΟCΤΙЄЄCΤΙΑΝ	– – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ νος τί' ἑστίαν	στρ. η′
]ΓΛΑΙΖЄΤΑΙ	– – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ἀ]γλαΐζεται	

Fragments.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]Ρ̣Η̣[	] . Ο̣[	[.]Δ̣[	] . [
]ΑΙΤ̣Ι̣[	]CΑΛ[	ΑCΤЄΙ[	]Ç̣ΤΑΠΑΝ̣[
]Α̣ЄΙΔ[	]ЄΟΜΟÇ̣[	ΝΑΙΟ[	] . Α̣Ι̣Κ̣Ο̣ . [
]Ω̣ . [	]ЄΝΑΙΚ[	Ρ̣Α̣[	. . .
. . .	]Τ̣ΙÇ̣[	. . .	
	. . .		

(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]ΑΝΤ̣Ι̣[	] . ΝΑ[	]Α̣Τ̣Ι̣[	]	. [
]Ν̣Α̣Τ̣[	] .	]ΙΠ[	]Ν̣	Η̣[
. . .	] .	]Η̣[	]Ο̣Ι̣[	. . .
	. . .	. . .	. . .	

(*k*)

. . .
Ι[
Ṭ[
. . .

(*l*)

. . .
]ΑΙ̣Λ̣[
. . .

(*m*)

. . .
125 [.]Ο̣ΙΑ[
⚓ ΑΘΑ[
-8-
Ϯ ωΤЄ[
CΗΡΑ[
ΑΥΞЄΙ̣ . [
130 Ṭ[.] . [
. . .

(*n*)

. . .
]
]
]ΑΝΑΗ̣[
]Ν̣Α̣ . [
. . .

(*o*)

. . .
]Ο̣ΜΑΙ̣˙ [
]
]
]
. . .

(*p*)

. . .
]
]ΚΡ . [
135]ΜΟ[
. . .

(*q*)

. . .
]ωΚΡЄΟ̣ . [
] . Δ̣ΑΝΝ̣ΑC . [
]
]
. . . .

(*r*)

. . .
] . . [
]ΔΟΞ[
140]Ν̣˙ [
. . .

1–4. At the top of this column considerable difficulties arise with regard to the place of the two fragments (*a*) and (*b*), which appear in this position in Plate III. Fr. (*b*) especially looks as if it should be put here, for the tops of the letters ΤΙC in the fifth line exactly suit *μάντις*. But the letters on the verso cannot be made to fit in as they should with the last lines of the extant epigram of Antipater; cf. note on **662**. 18–20. The two fragments cannot well be placed higher up, since the column on the verso appears to be complete. We are therefore reduced to the alternatives either of supposing that the papyrus had new readings in the last three lines of the epigram or that the fragments come from a previous column; they do not belong to a later column because the colour of the papyrus and the size of the letters on the verso is inconsistent with Col. ii, and the verso of the rest is blank at the top. Neither of these alternatives is satisfactory, but the latter is the safer. The question, however, is not of great importance, for the first few lines of the column would in any case hardly be capable of restoration without the assistance of the metre.

ll. 5–20. '...I will fulfil like a prophet-priest. The honours of mortals are diverse, but every man has to bear envy of excellence, while the head of him who has nought is hidden in black silence. And in friendly mood would I pray to the children of Cronus that prosperity of unbroken duration be decreed for Aeoladas and his race; the days of mortals are deathless, but the body dies. But he whose house is not reft of offspring and utterly overthrown, stricken by a violent fate, lives escaping sad distress; for before...'

7. *κεκριμέναι*: cf. *Nem.* vi. 3 *διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκριμένα δύναμις*.

12. At the end of this line is a Π with a dot or small *ο* between the two upright strokes, like the abbreviation of *πολύς* or *πόλις*. The surface of the papyrus is damaged immediately after the Π and one or two more letters may have followed. It is difficult

to see what can have been meant, for neither sense nor metre requires any word between Αἰολάδᾳ and καί; cf. l. 61, note.

13. The diple-shaped marginal sign which appears in the facsimile opposite this line really belongs to l. 17; the small fragment containing it was wrongly placed when the photograph was taken. For another case of the use of an Aristarchean symbol in a non-Homeric papyrus cf. **442**. 52.

14–5. The meaning is that, though the individual dies, the race is perpetuated.

17. There are spots of superfluous ink about the letters ΟΙΚΟ, creating rather the appearance of an interlinear insertion in a smaller hand; Κ was perhaps corrected. Another blot occurs above ΚΑΜΑΤΟΝ in l. 19.

21–4. A fresh ode begins at l. 21, the change being marked in the margin by a symbol of which vestiges appear opposite this line and the next. The name of the person to whom the poem was dedicated and its occasion may have been added, as in the Bacchylides papyrus. The small fragment placed at the top of this column and containing parts of ll. 22–4 is suitable both with regard to the recto and the verso (cf. **662**. 39–40, note), but its position can hardly be accepted as certain. None of the remaining fragments can be inserted here, their verso being blank. For [π]ρ[ό]φρω[ν], a favourite word of Pindar, cf. e. g. *Pyth.* v. 117 θεὸς δέ οἱ τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν.

ll. 23–40. 'For Loxias . . . of his favour pouring upon Thebes everlasting glory. But quickly girding up my robe and bearing in my soft hands a splendid laurel-branch I will celebrate the all-glorious dwelling of Aeoladas and his son Pagondas, my maidenly head bright with garlands, and to the tune of lotus pipe will imitate in song a siren sound of praise, such as hushes the sudden blasts of Zephyrus and, when chilling Boreas speeds on in stormy might, calms the ocean's swift rush . . .'

30. After ΠΑΓΩΝΔΑ an Ι seems to have been smeared out, but the appearance of Ι may be merely due to a blot; cf. note on l. 17.

33. σειρῆνα δὲ κόμπον . . . ὃς Ζεφύρου, κ.τ.λ.: cf. Schol. on Homer, *Od.* μ. 168–9 (γαλήνη ἔπλετο νηνεμίη κοίμησε δὲ κύματα δαίμων) ἐντεῦθεν Ἡσίοδος καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θέλγειν αὐτὰς (sc. τὰς Σειρῆνας) ἔφη.

34. ΛΑΙCΚΩΝ is apparently a mistake for αὐλίσκων; cf. *Ol.* iv. 2 ὦραι ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμιγγος ἀοιδᾶς ἑλισσόμεναι. The initial Λ could equally well be Δ but hardly Ν, nor does ναΐσκων give so good a sense.

37. Μ of ΧΕΙΜΩΝΟC has been altered from Ν.

38–9. φρίσσων Βορέας: cf. *Pyth.* iv. 81 φρίσσοντας ὄμβρους which a scholiast explains φρίσσειν ποιοῦντας. ΕΠΙCΠΕΡΧΗC is a mistake for ΕΠΙCΠΕΡΧΗΙ; cf. for the word *Od.* ε. 304 ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον, ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι. We transpose ὠκύαλον and πόντου on account of the metre though this change does not effect an absolute correspondence, – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ – taking the place of – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –. ὠκύαλος ῥιπή occurs in Opp. *Hal.* 2. 535.

40. The sense seems to require the substitution of ἐμάλαξεν for the ΕΤΑΡΑΞΕ of the papyrus; cf. Fr. 133 (probably Pindar) of the *Adespota* in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* ἐπερχόμενόν τε μαλάξοντας βίαιον πόντον ὠκείας τ' ἀνέμων ῥιπάς. The displacement of ἐμάλαξεν by ἐτάραξεν would be easy in such a context; cf. the passage from *Od.* ε quoted in the note on ll. 38–9. ΚΑΙ belongs to the next line.

42. The reading of this line is difficult. There is a stroke passing through the middle of Κ to Ι and another above the Κ, and perhaps this letter or both Ι and Κ were to be cancelled. The facsimile rather suggests that Θ was first written in place of ΙΚ, but that is deceptive. The doubtful Ζ may be Ξ. The dot which appears above the first Ν is very likely the tip of a letter like Ρ or Φ from the line above.

43–61. 'Many are the deeds of old that might be adorned with verse, but the knowledge of them is with Zeus; and for me maidenly thoughts and choice of speech are meet. Yet for no man nor woman to whose offspring I am devoted must I forget a fitting song, and as a faithful witness have I come to the dance in honour of Agasicles and his noble parents, who for their public friendships were held in honour in time past, as now, by their neighbours, and for the renowned victories of swift-footed steeds, victories which decked their locks with crowns at the banks of famed Onchestus or by Itonia's glorious shrine and at Pisa . . .'

44. Cf. Pindar, *Nem.* xi. 18 *μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελιζέμεν ἀοιδαῖς.* The A of ΤΑ was altered apparently from O.

46–7. *μέν . . . τε*: cf. e. g. *Ol.* vi. 88–9 *πρῶτον μέν . . . γνῶναί τ' ἔπειτ'.*

49. *ἀοιδὰν πρόσφορον*: the phrase recurs in *Nem.* ix. 7.

50. The alteration of ΑΓΑϹΙΚΛΕΙ to *Ἀγασικλέει* is necessary for the metre. Who this Agasicles was is obscure; perhaps he was the *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* who *ἄρχει τῆς δαφνηφορίας* according to the account of Proclus *ap.* Photius *Bibl.* 239, or he may merely have been some member of the family of Aeoladas. The rather abrupt way in which his name is introduced and the context in which it occurs might suggest that a third poem commenced in Col. iii, a supposition which would be strengthened if the loss at the tops of the columns were extended by another fifteen lines (cf. introd.). But the hypothesis of two consecutive odes in the same metre would require to be justified by stronger evidence than that supplied by the passage before us. For *πιστὰ μάρτυς* cf. *Pyth.* i. 88, and xii. 27 *πιστοὶ χορευτᾶν μάρτυρες.*

53. *τιμαθεῖσιν*: ΤΙΜΑΘΕΝΤΑϹ the papyrus, and the accusative may possibly have been justified by the sequel; but as the passage stands *τιμαθεῖσιν τὰ πάλαι* or *τιμαθέντεσσι πάλαι* seems an improvement, though the accumulation of datives is not elegant. In any case the division of the lines is wrong, as in ll. 40–1 and 66–7. For the language cf. *Isth.* iii. 25–6 *τιμάεντες ἀρχᾶθεν λέγονται πρόξενοί τ' ἀμφικτιόνων.* It is noticeable that the papyrus has the spelling *ἀμφικτίονες* which was restored to the text of Pindar by Boeckh in place of the MSS. reading *ἀμφικτύονες.*

58. *κλυ]τᾶς* is by no means certain. The letter before ΑϹ is possibly Τ, but more of the crossbar should be visible.

59. *ναόν* is a necessary correction of the papyrus reading ΝΑΟΤ.

61. The metre is complete at *περι-*, and probably the lines were wrongly divided again — unless indeed the same addition was made as at the end of l. 12.

64–76. '. . . to [Thebes] of the seven gates. Then jealous wrath at so just an ambition of these men provoked a bitter unrelenting strife, but making full amends was changed to friendship. Son of Damaena, come, lead on now with [propitious?] foot; gladly upon thy way she first shall follow thee stepping with her sandals nigh upon the thick-leaved laurel, the daughter whom Daesistrota and . . . perfected with counsel . . .'

64. Another disturbance in the metre has occurred in this line, which will not scan with *ἑπταπύλοις* as the first word. The vestiges before the lacuna suggest a round letter like Ε or Θ, and ΕΠΤΑΠΥΛΟΙϹΘΗΒΑΙϹ, e. g. may have been written for *Θή|βαις ἑπταπύλοισιν.* But it is just possible to read ΕΠΤΑΠΥΛΟΙϹΙ[Ν, and to suppose that the missing syllable at the beginning of the line was transposed to l. 63.

65. The first Ν of ΕΝΗΚΕΝ is rather cramped; but the writing becomes smaller and more compressed in this column.

66. The transference of *σώφρονος* to this line is necessary *metri gratia.* For *μέριμνα* in

the sense of ambition for distinction in the games cf. e.g. *Ol.* i. 109–11 *θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν τεαῖσι μήδεται . . . Ἱέρων μερίμναισιν.*

67. Γ opposite this line marks the 300th verse; cf. 448. 302 and other Homeric papyri. With an average column of 28–9 lines (cf. introd.) this would be the eleventh column of the roll.

The reading *ἐχθρὰν ἔριν* is fairly satisfactory, though ΝΕ hardly fills the space between the Α and Ρ.

69. With *π[ισ]τάς* the letters ΙCΤ must be supposed to have been very close together; cf. note on l. 65.

70. Here again is a difficulty. There is no sign of the second leg of Π in ΠΑ[.] and a Τ would in some respects be more satisfactory, but on the other hand the space between this letter and Α is more consistent with a Π. The name *Δάμαινα* has no authority, but is in itself unobjectionable, standing in the same relation to *Δάμων* as *Λέαινα* to *Λέων* or *Τρύφαινα* to *Τρύφων*. The person addressed may be Aeoladas or Pagondas, but his identity is of course quite obscure. With regard to the mutilated adjective agreeing with *ποδί*, immediately following the first lacuna is a vertical stroke (not very clear in the facsimile) with an angular base, which might be the second half of a Ν or the lower half of a letter like Ι or Τ; in the latter case two letters might be lost in the lacuna. The vertical stroke is not long enough for *ρ*, so *πά[τε]ρ* is excluded. The next letter could be an Α or Λ, but the traces on the papyrus are very indistinct, and there may have been a correction. If *πα[ῖ]* is right the succeeding word must begin with a short vowel, unless indeed *πά[ι]* is read as a disyllable; *πάις* has been conjectured in *Ol.* ii. 84. *ἐλευθέρῳ* is unsuitable; *ἐναισίμῳ* might do.

73. CΧΕΔ[.]Ν: the facsimile is again deceptive, transforming the Χ into Ε and Ε into C. There might be room for two narrow letters between Δ and Ν, but *σχεδ[ό]ν* is hardly to be avoided, though *δάφνας εὐπετάλου σχεδ[ὸ]ν βαίνοισα* is not very satisfactory.

75. *Δαισιστρότα* is another name for which no authority can be cited, but it is quite a possible form, *στροτός* being the Boeotian for *στρατός*. Whether the reference is to a goddess or a woman is doubtful. A second name must have followed in l. 76; cf. ll. 80–2, note. For the anaphora of the relative cf. the reading of some MSS. in Pindar, Fr. 75. 10 *ὃν* (*v. l. τὸν*) *Βρόμιον ὃν* (*v. l. τὸν*) *Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν.* The Α of the second ΑΝ is more like Λ. *ἐπασκεῖν* is a Pindaric word; cf. *Nem.* ix. 10 *ἐπασκήσω κλυταῖς ἥρωα τιμαῖς*, and Fr. 194. 4.

80–2. 'Do not when in sight of the nectar from my spring go thirsty away to a salt stream.' *νέκτα[ρ]* seems right, though the Τ is not very satisfactory, the length of the vertical stroke rather suggesting Ρ; Τ, however, is an irregular letter. Cf. for the metaphor *Ol.* vii. 7–9 *καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτόν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ἀεθλοφόροις ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός, ἱλάσκομαι.* The persons addressed are presumably the two named in ll. 75–6, the masculine form of the dual being used of a feminine subject as e.g. in Soph. *O. C.* 1113, 1676. In l. 81 the original reading *διψῶντ(ε)* seems preferable to the correction or variant *διψῶντ(ι)* since there is no certain instance in Pindar of the latter elision; but of course the question cannot be decided without the following words: *διψῶντ(ι) ἀδύ*, e.g., would give a good sense. It is noticeable that in the next line, though the substitution of Θ for the second Χ is necessary, the Χ has not been crossed out.

Frs. (*a*) and (*b*). On the position of these two fragments see note on ll. 1–4.

Fr. (*n*) 128. CΗΡΑ[is very intractable, leading only to *Σήρ* or *σῆραγξ* in some form; but the first letter is plainly C and not Θ.

Fr. (*r*) 140. Above Ν to the right is a mark like a grave accent.

660. Paean.

Fr. (*a*) 13·1 × 9 *cm.*

Two fragments, each from the top of a column, which is probably though not certainly one and the same, containing part of what is evidently a Paean. The lines seem to be rather long, and it is hardly possible to make out the sense or to discern in whose honour the paean was composed. Neither is there much clue to the identity of the author; but Blass points out that, while *ἀΐοισα* (l. 8) indicates a lyric poet, the form *νέας* for *νᾶας* is decisive against Pindar or Bacchylides. Perhaps the piece may be attributed to Simonides, but a later date is not impossible.

The text is written in a good-sized, but not very regular, round uncial hand, which we should place near the end of the first or early in the second century. A high stop is used, and breathings, accents, and marks of quantity are added not infrequently, all being due to the original scribe.

Fr. (*a*)

[. .] . [. . .]χεοδ[. .]ν̣ απείρᾱτ̣[
ξ̣α̣ς· ιεπαιηον αναρ̣σιων τ[
οιστων δούρ̣ων τε σιδᾱρο[
βρῑσει νέ̣ᾰς αϊθεων μᾰλισ̣[τ
ὴ πολεμονδε κορυσσομε[ν
θεσπεσιας δ ἀπο κνισας̣ μ̣[
κ[. . . . .] πολλακις Πυθοι π̣[
ᾱ̄ μεν ταυτ' αἴοισα γναμψε[ι
εσσομ[ε]νου δ' υεος ου μελλε̣ . [
[ιε]παι̣ασ̣[ι]ν· συν αλ̣ι̣οι τριτα[
[ιε]παι̣α̣σιν α . χεν . . ουλα . [
[. .]ος· αυτικα δε σκοπιᾶς οἱ [
[. .]ν̣το μεταχρονιαι . [
[. .]νοντι . γαν εραταν [
[ιε]παίαν δ αρα νυκτα κ̣[
[μα]ρ̣τυραμεναι δ[.]κ̣[
[. .]ας̣· ϊεπα[ιηο]ν· . [
[. .]ω̣ πρω[. . .]έ[

]ον εσσεσθ[αι
] άμμορον [
]μων φα[
] . χο̣ω̣ν δ[
]ω̣μενοι̣[
]ομε̣ν̣ο[

Fr. (*b*)

[. .]ν̣ στολ̣[
20 [. .] . ονα[
[. . .] βροτο̣[
[. .] . χρύσ[
[. . .]α̣οιδ[
[. .]ακυν[
25 [. . .]ος· ϊε[παιηον

. . . . . .

1–6. The small fragment does not seem to join on directly to the larger, for though that position works well in the first three lines—απειρατ|ον, τ (τ')|αμμορον, σιδαρο[το]μων—difficulties arise in the remainder. In l. 4 χεων is possible, but not, we think, χορον; the letter before χ is probably η, ι, or ν, but not α. In l. 5 the doubtful ω might possibly be ν, but κορυσσομε[νω]ν could not be got into the space if there was no gap in ll. 1–2, nor could μ[ελδ]ομενο[(cf. Homer, *Il.* xxi. 363) be read in l. 6. On the other hand it is not easy to reconstruct ll. 1–2 on the hypothesis of a loss between the two fragments of only one or two letters. In l. 2 there appears to be something above the α of αμμορον besides the accent and it is perhaps intended for a smooth breathing, but the effect is rather that of a sign of short quantity. μ[in l. 6 may be α[or λ[.

7. Πυθοι π[: or πυθοιτ . [?

11 sqq. There is some uncertainty with regard to the number of letters lost at the beginnings of the lines. In l. 10 two letters are required before παιασ[ι]ν, and since there are three other instances of ιεπαιαν or ιεπαιηων in the fragment [ιε]παιασιν can hardly be avoided. In l. 11 there is rather less room, but something must have stood before παιασιν, and if the column leaned slightly to the right there would not be much difficulty in getting [ιε] into the space. [μα]ρτυραμεναι in l. 16 also looks very probable; and if that be right, there must be two letters missing at the commencement of the preceding and following lines.

11. Possibly αυχενι . ου or αυχενα[.]ου.

13. μεταχρονιαι: cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 269 μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἵαλλον (of the Harpies), where μεταχρόνιαι is explained as equivalent to μετέωροι.

661. Epodes.

14·1 × 16·4 *cm.* Plate V.

This fragment contains the beginnings and ends of lines from two columns of Epodes in the Doric dialect. Iambic trimeters alternate with trochaic verses of half their own length. Archilochus, the father of this style of poetry, cannot of course be the author on account of the dialect; and Blass considers that the piece may be attributed to Callimachus, who appears to have

tried almost every variety of poetic composition and employed different dialects. Unfortunately the longer lines are so incomplete that to make out the general drift is impossible.

Palaeographically this fragment is of considerable interest. It is written in handsome round uncials, of a type not infrequent in papyri (cf. **25**, **224**, **678**, **686**, **701**), and also exemplified in the great Biblical codices. On the verso of the papyrus are parts of two columns in a cursive hand which is not later than the beginning of the third century, and is quite as likely to fall within the second. The text on the recto then can be assigned with little chance of error to the latter half of the second century. Accents, &c., have been added by two different hands, some being very small and neat, others larger and in lighter ink. To the smaller hand may be attributed also the occasional corrections and the punctuation, but whether this hand can be identified with that of the body of the text is doubtful. The document in cursive seems to be a series of medical prescriptions or directions; it is too fragmentary to give any connected sense, but the occurrence of the words *τρείβανον*, *συκάμεινος* and apparently *χιραλέος* may be noted.

Col. i.

. . . . . .

] . . . . [

]τ̣ι̣ν̣

γ̣ α̣ι̣

]ρος ᾱριω μένος.

]

]ν̣ καταρροον

]

κά]ι̣ με δικτύοις

]

]ον· ώ Παλαιμονες

]

]το θηριον·

]

]ον ώ Παλάιμονες

]

] α̣π̣ωθε τον φθόρον

Col. ii.

. . . . .

ποτας ι̣ερας βλ̣[

και τύχ αμπυριξ . [

έληγ' ο μυθος· κα[ι

πυρδάνωι πυλεπ[

κὴ'γω π εκέιναν [

ι

ταις εμαις επωδα[ις

οι δ εἶπαν [. .]ν̣ε̣[

ν

μη τύ γ' αῦτις ε[[λ]]θ[ηις

ν

η· κάι με π[[ιτ]]ο[[υ]]τον̣ [

ῆνθ[[χ]]ε σαυνιαστα̣[ς

ρ

εριψαν αῦθι δ ὲξ αλο[ς

β

π̣[.]ρ[[κ]]αλον κατάγρ[

ε̣[κ] τας θαλάσσας τ[

3. The corrector apparently wished to alter *αριω μενος* to *αγριαι μενος*, but the *ω* is not crossed through. Blass suggests *θη]ρος αγριω μενος*, and notes that in *Anth. Pal.* xii. 162. 1 *οὔπω τοξοφορῶν οὐδ' ἄριος* the same corruption or the same word occurs.

9. The plural *Παλαίμονες* means sea-gods.

16. *ποτας* is for *ποττάς*, i. e. *ποτὶ τάς*.

17. ? *αμπυριξα[ς*, but the vestiges of the letter following *ξ* do not suggest *α*, though that letter cannot be said to be impossible. *τυχαμ πυριξ* . . gives no sense.

19. *πυλεπ[* is a *vox nihili*: the letters are all quite clear.

24. *η* = *ἦ*, as the punctuation shows; but the apparent use of the singular form with a plural subject is peculiar. The deleted letters are crossed through and besides have dots over them. *ν* above *υ* might be read as *λι*, but that is less likely.

26. Above the *ι* of *αὔθι* is a small circular mark which seems to be accidental. A high point might be recognized after *ερριψαν*.

27. *κατάγρ[* may be *κατάγρ[η* = *καθῄρει*, but then the preceding word should be a noun, and it is difficult to find anything suitable. The *β* above the deleted *κ* is almost certain, and the vestiges of the first letter of the line strongly suggest *π*, which leaves us with *π[α]ρβαλον* or *π[υ]ρ βαλον*.

662. Epigrams.

12·8 × 49 *cm.*

These epigrams, some of which are extant, others new, are written in three columns on the verso of the papyrus containing the new Pindar fragments, **659**. The first column, of which only the ends of lines are preserved, comprises two epitaphs of Leonidas (of Tarentum) and Antipater of Sidon, which already exist in the *Anthology* (=*Anth. Pal.* vii. 163, 164). These are succeeded in Col. ii by two poems ascribed to Amyntas, one upon the same Samian woman Prexo who is the subject of the first two epigrams and of another in the same style by Antipater or Archias (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 165), the second upon the capture of Sparta by Philopoemen in B.C. 188. Of Amyntas nothing whatever is known apart from this papyrus; the historical allusions of the second poem and the identity in subject of the first with the similar epitaphs of Leonidas and Antipater warrant the conclusion that he also flourished in the second century B.C. The third column contains two new dedicatory epigrams composed for a certain Glenis by Leonidas and Antipater respectively, with the first two words of another which was left unfinished, apparently again by Leonidas.

The copyist, who wrote an irregular uncial hand, was a careless and unintelligent person, and there are frequent mistakes and corruptions, while a dislocation of the lines has apparently occurred at the top of Col. ii. The date of this text seems to be not much later than that on the recto, and probably it falls within the reign of Augustus like the majority of the papyri with which

it was found. Accents and stops are of rare occurrence; a double point is once used in a dialogue (l. 11). The negligence of the writer and the discolouration of the papyrus render decipherment a matter of some difficulty.

Col. i.

[*Λεωνιδου*]
[*τις τινος ευσα γυναι Παριην υπο κ*]*ε̣ίονα κ*[*ι*]*σαι*
[*Πρηξω Καλλιτελευς και ποδ*]*α̣πη Σαμιη*
[*τις δε σε και κτερειξε Θεοκρ*]*ιτος ω με γ̣εγωνες*
5 [*εξεδοσαν θνησκεις δ εκ τινος*] *εκ τ*[*ο*]*κετου*
[*ευσα ποσων ετεων δυο κεικοσι*]*ν η ρα γ ατεκνος*
[*ουκ αλλα τριετη Καλλιτελην ελι*]*πον*
[*ζωοι σοι κεινος γε και ες βαθυ*] *γηρας ικοιτο*
[*και σοι ξεινε πορ̣οι παντα Τυχ*]*η̣ τα καλα*
10 [*Αντιπατρου*]
[*φραζε γυναι γενεην ονο*]*μ̣α χθονα : Καλλιτελης μεν*
[*ο σπειρας Πραξω δ ουνομ*]*α γη δε Σαμος*
[*σαμα δε τις τοδ εχωσε Θεο*]*κ̣ριτος ο πριν αθικτα*
[*αμετερας λυσας αμματα παρθ*]*ενιαν*
15 [*πως δε θανες λοχιοισιν εν*] *αλγεσιν ειπε δε ποιαν*
[*ηλθες ες ηλικιην δισσακι*]*ς ενδε̣κ̣ετις*
[*η και απαις ου ξεινε λελ*]*ο̣ι̣πα γαι̣ εν νεοτατι*
[*Καλλιτελη . . . . . .*] *. τ̣ι̣ε νη̣*[*πιαχον*]
[*ελθοι ες ολβιστην πολιην*] *τριχ*[*α και σον οδ*]*ι̣τ̣α*
20 [*ουριον ιθυνοι παντα Τυχη βιοτον*]

Col. ii.

Αμυντου
αυχμαλεας νοπ̣[.] *. ον υπ οφρυος ανθεσι δακρυ*
ν[.]*λων ενβα̣*[.]*σεις ψ*[.] *. ρο̣*[.]*α̣πη̣ς σπιλαδι*
φραζ̣ε γυναι τις εουσα κ[*α*]*ι̣ εκ τινος ειπε τε πατρην*
25 *ν̣η*[[.]]*οιας εθανες νουσου υπ αργαλεης*
ουνομα κεν Πραξω Σαμιη ξενε εκ δε γονηος

Καλλιτελευς γενομαν αλλ εθανον τοκετω·
τις δε ταφον σταλ̣ωσε Θεου̣κριτος η με συνευνον
ανδρι δοσαν ποιην δ ηλθες ες ηλικιην
30 επταετις τρις ενος γενομαν ετι η ρα γ ατεκνος
ου Καλλιτελης τριετῆ παιδα δομω λιπομαν
Αμυντου
τας πε̣σαρο̣ς ατρεστ̣ο̣ν Λακεδαιμονα τας κερα μουνας
πολλακις αν π̣ο̣λ̣ε̣σι δ̣[η]ριν εφριξεν Αρης
35 νυν υπ ανικατωι Φιλοποιμενι δουρι τ Αχ[α]ι̣ω̣ν
πρηνης εκ τρισσᾶν ηριπε μυριαδαν
ασκεπος οιωνοι δε περι̣ζ̣μυχηρον ιδοντες
μυρονται πεδιον δου . ε̣[. . .]φ̣ε̣σ̣ι̣π̣ος
[κ]απνον δ εκθρωσ̣[κοντα .]ε̣ρ̣εη[.] . [.]ο̣ λοετροις
40 [. .]δ̣α̣ς δερκομενα[. . . . . α]κρ̣ο̣π̣ο̣[λ . .]

Col. iii.

Λεωνιδου
Ακρωριται Πανι και ενπα̣[. . . . .] ν̣υμφαις
[Γ]λημις ο συνγειτων δωρ̣α̣ κ̣[υνηγεσι]ης
τ
ταυταν τε προτομαν κ̣αι δ̣[. . . . . .]ησ . [.]ι̣
45 βυρσαν και ροθιους τουσ̣[δ ανεθηκε] π̣ο̣δας
Παν ω και νυμοαι τονδ̣[. . . . . αγ]ρ̣ευ̣τ̣ηρα
Γληνιν αε̣ξ̣ησαιθ αιε̣δ̣[. . . . . .]ς
Αντιπατρο̣[υ
σιλαινων αλοχοις αντρ̣ησιν· η̣δε κ̣ερασται
50 τασδ Ακρωριται Πανι και ηγεμονι
και προτομαν ακμητα κ̣α̣ι αυτο νε̣ον τοδε καπρου
δερμα το μηδ αυτω ρηγνυμενον χ̣αλυοι
Γληνις ανηερτησε καλας χαριτησ[ιο]ν αγρας
δεικνυς ιφθιμου κουρος Ο̣ν̣αφαν̣ε[.]ς
55 Α̣[εω]ν̣ι̣[δ]ου
δρυμνονομου

Fragments.

	. . .		. . .
(*a*)	] . [	(*b*)	60]α̣π̣ . [
	]κα[		]ν̣εν̣γο[
	]σ̣λ̣ι̣[		]
	. . .		. . .

4. γεγωνες (or τεγωνες) is for γονῆες.

12. Πραξω: so l. 26; Πρηξώ MSS. But the spelling of the papyrus is too inconsistent to merit much attention. Thus we have in a single epigram αυχμαλεας and αργαλεης (ll. 22, 25), ποιας and ποιην (ll. 25, 29); η however tends to predominate after a vowel or ρ in the epigrams of Amyntas, α elsewhere.

14. παρθ]ενιαν: l. παρθενίας or -ης.

17. The ς above the line is clear enough, and the letter below is apparently ι and not ρ. γάρ is of course the right reading.

18–20. The question of the position of the two fragments (*a*) and (*b*) at the bottom of this column has already had to be considered in connexion with the text on the recto; cf. note on **659**. 1–4. They might well be put here so far as the appearance of the papyrus and of the writing is concerned; but the letters will certainly not coincide with any known version of ll. 18–20. The scribe is far from being reliable no doubt, and something has evidently gone wrong in l. 18, which should be Καλλιτέλη τριετῆ παῖδ' ἔτι νηπίαχον. Before νη[πιαχον] however there is a clear ε; perhaps ετι ε or επε for ετι was written. τριχα and οδιτα being in their right places it is scarcely admissible to postulate a divergence from the ordinary reading in the intervening words. Combining the two fragments, καὶ σύ γ' ὁ[δ]ῖτα [οὔριον ἰθύνοις — ∪ ∪ — βίοτ]ον would give an intelligible variant; but apart from the difficulty of reading συ and]ον this also upsets νηπίαχον, with which the first line of Fr. (*b*) is inconsistent, and does not account for the space between τριχ[α] and και; moreover on turning to the recto the resulting readings αιτι[.]σαλ[, αειδεομοσ[, [.]ω . εναικ[(cf. **659** Frs. (*a*), (*b*)) are, to say the least, unattractive. We therefore prefer to suppose that these fragments came earlier in the papyrus; they do not seem to belong to the lost half of this column.

22–3. These two very puzzling lines do not combine at all easily with what follows and may be displaced; perhaps, as Blass suggests, they belong to the next epigram, which is apparently defective at the beginning; cf. note on ll. 33–4. The construction would indeed be improved by a verb for εουσα in l. 24 to depend upon (as in the first line of Leonidas' epigram τίς τίνος εὖσα . . . κεῖσαι), but the word φράζε is the natural commencement (cf. l. 11 and *Anth. Pal.* vii. 165. 1 εἰπέ, γύναι, τίς ἔφυς), and the participle is not unintelligible. With regard to the reading, in l. 22 the letter after νο may be γ, and there are traces of ink above ο which may indicate a correction; before ον is the end of a high cross stroke which would suit γ, σ or τ. νοτ[ε]ρον is just possible though not satisfactory, and would of course leave the line a syllable short. In l. 23 ενβλ[could be read for ενβα[and the following word is perhaps some form of ψυχρός; but there is hardly space for a letter between the (very doubtful) ο and the α (which may be another ο). The ψ might be φ. Blass suggests λείβων ἐμβλέψεις . . . , and this may well be right, but was certainly not written.

24–31. '"Say, lady, who you are and who your father, and tell your country and of what grievous sickness you died." "My name, sir, is Praxo of Samos, and I was the

daughter of Calliteles, but I died in childbirth." "Who set up the tomb?" "My husband, Theocritus, to whom they gave me to wife." "And what age did you reach?" "Thrice seven and one year old was I." "And were you childless?" "I left in my home a boy of three years, Calliteles."'

24. ε of εκ was converted from ι and the letters ινο have also been corrected.

25. l. καὶ ποίας ἔθανες. νηπιας seems to have been originally written, the π being subsequently converted into ο and another π added above the line. Whether the initial ν, of which only a slight vestige remains, was at the same time altered is doubtful owing to a hole in the papyrus.

26. κεν is a mistake for μέν.

28. l. Θεόκριτος ᾧ. Cf. ll. 15–6 above and *Anth. Pal.* vii. 165. 3–4 Θεόκριτος ὅς με σύνευνον ἤγετο.

31. The superfluous ου at the beginning of the line is due to the analogy of the two previous epigrams: cf. ll. 7 and 17. l. Καλλιτέλην.

33–8 '. . . Sparta, of old the dauntless, at whose single-handed might Ares in war was many a time and oft terror-struck, is now cast headlong and defenceless by thrice ten thousand foes, beneath unconquered Philopoemen and the spears of the Achaeans; and the birds looking upon the smoking plain mourn . . .'

33–4. l. τὰν πάρος . . . τᾶς χέρα . . . πολλάκις ἐν πολέσιν. The last word is however very doubtful; πο may be τω and σ may be ε, while of the supposed ε only a slight vestige of the base is left. Blass would retain ἄν and read πόλεων or πολέων. A couplet has fallen out either before or after ll. 33–4, since there is nothing to govern Λακεδαιμονα. Perhaps, as suggested above, ll. 22–3 should come in here, though they do not seem particularly appropriate.

35. δ' should perhaps be inserted after νυν.

36. l. μυριάδων.

37. ζ of περιζμυχηρον (= περισμυχηρόν) has been corrected.

38. The letters in the latter part of the line are much damaged; the φ could equally well be ψ, εσ may be ατ or .ε, and for the supposed π, which is not satisfactory, .ι should perhaps be substituted.

39–40. The letters]ερεη[and]κροπο[are on a detached fragment, the appearance of which decidedly points to the position here assigned to it. The contents of the recto create no difficulty (cf. **659**. 21–4 note) and ἀκρόπολις in some form fits the context in l. 40 very well; moreover above ρ of]ερεη[is the end of a long stroke descending from the line above, which just suits the φ or ψ after the lacuna in l. 38. The cumulative effect of these considerations is undeniably strong.

42–7. 'To Pan of Acroria and the . . . nymphs were dedicated as hunting-spoils by neighbour Glenis this head and . . . hide and these swift feet. O Pan and ye Nymphs, prosper the doughty hunter Glenis . . .'

42. Ἀκρώρεια was the name of a mountain peak in Sicyon, and Ἀκρωρείτης is given by Steph. Byz. as a local epithet of Dionysus. The mutilated word before νυμφαις was probably some adjective ending in -ισι (cf. l. 49), but the space is very short for ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ as required by the metre, and a corruption may be suspected.

43. l. Γλῆνις as in ll. 47 and 53. For κ[υνηγεσι]ης cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 183. 2; σ[υαγρεσι]ης (vi. 34. 4) could also be read.

44. The first α of ταυταν has been corrected, and to make the result clearer another τ was added above the line.

45. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 34. 2 *καὶ κάπρου τούσδε καθᾶψε πόδας.* *καθαψε* might of course be read for *ανεθηκε* here, but the meaning would not be affected.

46. l. *νύμφαι.*]*ρευτηρα* must be *θηρευτῆρα* or *ἀγρευτῆρα*; perhaps *τόνδ'* [*ἄλκιμον ἀγ*]*ρευτῆρα.*

47. l. *ἀεξήσαιτ'* followed by something like *αἰὲν ἄγραισι καλαῖς*; but the remains of the letter after *αιε* suggest *δ*, *ζ*, or *ξ*. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 158. 3–4 *αὔξετε δ' αἰεὶ Πὰν ἀγέλην Νύμφαι πίδακα*, and vi. 34. 5–6 *ἀλλ' ὦ Πὰν σκοπιῆτα καὶ εἰς ὀπίσω Πολύαινον εὔαγρον πέμποις νίέα Σιμύλεω.*

49–54. 'To the cave-dwelling mates of the Sileni and to horned Pan of Acroria their chief these trophies, a scathless head and new boar's hide, that not even steel may rend, were hung up to view as a thank offering for a goodly quarry by Glenis the son of noble Onasiphanes.'

49. l. *Σιληνῶν.*

50. l. *ταῦτ'* for *τασδ.*

51. *ακμητα* may be interpreted in the sense of 'uninjured' or 'permanent' on the analogy of *πυλαὶ ἀκμῆτες* in *Anth. Pal.* ix. 526 or may be regarded as an epithet which strictly applies only to the living animal (cf. Soph. *Antig.* 353 *οὔρειόν τ' ἀκμῆτα ταῦρον*).

52. *χαλυοι* is for *χάλυβι*; cf. *νυμοαι* for *νύμφαι* in l. 46. The top of the *ο* is missing, but *β* seems excluded.

54. l. *'Ονα⟨σι⟩φάνε[υ]ς?*

56. l. *δρυμονόμου* or *δρυμὸν ὁμοῦ.* The rest of the epigram was never added.

663. Argument of Cratinus' ΔΙΟΝΥCΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

19·8 × 12·3 *cm.*

Of all the lost Greek classics there are few of which the recovery would be of greater importance than the plays of Cratinus or Eupolis, and though the present fragment does not give any actual portion of Cratinus' works it nevertheless throws some interesting and much wished for light upon the plots of his comedies, about which almost nothing was known previously. It consists of the argument of the *Διονυσαλέξανδρος*, one of Cratinus' most famous plays, written in a small uncial hand in the late second century or the first half of the third. The title *Διονυσαλέξανδρος η̄* (i.e. the 8th drama) *Κρατείνου* occurs, not where it would be expected at the end, but at the top of the last column, and is written in much larger uncials. What is meant by this comedy being called the '8th' is uncertain. Similar numbers are assigned to extant Greek plays in their arguments, e.g. the *Antigone* of Sophocles is the '32nd,' the *Alcestis* of Euripides the '17th,' the *Birds* of Aristophanes the '35th.' That the numbers refer to the chronological order is barely possible in the first two of these instances and impossible in the third; and in the case of the *Dionysalexandrus* also it is very improbable that the arrangement according to which that play was

the 8th was chronological. Körte would make it an alphabetical arrangement. As frequently happens in scholia, there are numerous abbreviations in the text of the argument. In most cases the last letter written of an abbreviated word is above the line; Ἑρμ(ῆς) in l. 5 and παραδοθησόμενο(ν) in l. 40 are written ερμ′ and παραδοθησομενο′. καί takes various forms, κ′ in l. 6, κς in ll. 9, 17, 33, and 43, ς in ll. 11 and 21. μ′ for μέν occurs in ll. 7 and 38, and δ′ for δέ in ll. 23 and 40. The high stop is occasionally employed. The MS. is not very accurate, corruptions occurring in two lines; cf. notes on ll. 8 and 12. The extant fragments of the Διονυσαλέξανδρος, apart from single words, number nine, and how little these and the title of the play served to indicate its contents may be judged from the fact that Meineke considered Ἀλέξανδρος to be Alexander the Great, and therefore wished to assign the play to the younger Cratinus. Kock on the other hand inferred from the common occurrence of well-known mythical personages in the titles of comedies that Alexander was the Trojan Paris, and favoured the authorship of Cratinus the elder. The acute hypothesis of Kock is now verified by the papyrus, which shows that Ἀλέξανδρος in the title is indeed the Trojan, and that the plot turned upon an amusing perversion of the story of the Trojan war, in which Dionysus played the part assigned in the legend to Paris. That the play was the work of the elder Cratinus is moreover proved by the note appended at the end, stating that Pericles was attacked for having been the cause of the war. The date of its performance is thus fixed to the year B.C. 430 or 429.

The earlier part of the argument, contained in the upper portion of Col. i and probably in a preceding column, is lost, and where the papyrus becomes intelligible it is describing the παράβασις (ll. 6–9). The chorus apparently consisted of satyrs in attendance upon Dionysus (cf. l. 42 and l. 6, note), and the action took place for the most part on Mount Ida. The παράβασις is followed (ll. 9–12) by a scene between the chorus and Dionysus, in which they mock at him, very likely on account of the guise in which he presents himself. Possibly Cratin. *Fr. inc.* 281 ποιμὴν καθέστηκ' αἰπόλος καὶ βουκόλος refers to this incident. Then comes (ll. 12–9) a parody of the judgement of Paris. Aphrodite, who promises to Dionysus that he shall be the most beautiful and most beloved person in the world, naturally is victorious. Dionysus next goes to Sparta and brings back Helen to Mount Ida (ll. 20–3). Upon the approach of the Achaeans they both take refuge in the house of the real Alexander, Dionysus turning himself into a ram and hiding Helen in a basket (ll. 23–33). It is easy to understand the boisterous fun to which this scene must have given rise. A glimpse of it is afforded by the familiar quotation from the *Dionysalexandrus* ὁ δ' ἠλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει, which no doubt refers to Dionysus'

appearance in the character of a sheep. Alexander himself now comes on the stage, and detects the lovers; the denouement is that Helen remains with him as his wife, while Dionysus is sent off in disgrace to be delivered to the Achaeans, but accompanied by the faithful satyrs (ll. 33–44).

The papyrus concludes with the scholiast's remark already mentioned, showing that the play was directed against Pericles, who may well have been satirized in the principal character as Dionysus. Imperfect as it is, the argument well illustrates the perversion of familiar legends which seems to have been a favourite resource of the older comic poets, and of Cratinus in particular.

We are indebted to Prof. A. Körte for several suggestions on this papyrus.

Col. i.

. . . . . .
[. . . . . .] .
[. . . . . .]ζητ( )
[. . . . . .]π̣αν
[. . . . . .] αυτον μη
5 [. . . . . .]ρ̣[.]ισιν ο Ερμ(ης)
[. . . . .]εται κ(αι) ουτοι
μ(εν) π̣ρ̣(ος) τους θεατας
τινα πυων ποιη( )
διαλεγονται κ(αι)
10 παραφανεντα τον
Διονυσον επισκω(πτουσι) (και)
χλευαζουσ(ιν) ο δ(ε) πα
ραγενομενων αυτωι
παρα μεν [Ηρας] τυραννιδο(ς)
15 ακινητου πα[ρ]α δ Αθηνας
ευτυχι(ας) κ(α)τ(α) πολεμο(ν) της
δ Αφροδι(της) καλλιστο(ν) τε κ(αι)
επεραστον αυτον υπαρ
χειν κρινει ταυτην νικαν
20 μ(ε)τ(α) δε ταυ(τα) πλευσας εις
Λακεδαιμο(να) (και) την Ελενην

Col. ii.

Δ̄ιονυσ[αλεξανδρος
η̄ [
Κ̄ρατ[ειν̄ου

τον Αλεξαν[δ(ρον) κ(αι) την μ(εν) Ελενη(ν)
30 εις ταλαρον ωσπ[ερ τυρον?
κρυψας εαυτον δ εις κριο(ν)
μ(ε)τ(α)σκευασας ὑπομενει
το μελλον· παραγενο
μενος δ Αλεξανδ(ρος) κ(αι) φωρα
35 σας εκατερο(ν) αγειν επι τας
ναυς πρ(οσ)ταττει ως παραδωσων
τοις Αχαιοι(ς) οικνουσης δε της
Ελενη(ς) ταυτην μ(εν) οικτειρας
ως γυναιχ εξων επικατεχ(ει)
40 τον δ(ε) Διονυ(σον) ως παραδοθη
σομενο(ν) αποστελλει συν
ακολουθ(ουσι) δ οι σατυ(ροι) παρακαλουν
τες τε κ(αι) ουκ αν προδωσειν
αυτον φασκοντες κωμω
45 δειται δ εν τῶ δραματι Πε
ρικλης μαλα πιθανως δι

εξαγαγων επανερχετ(αι)
εις την Ιδην ακου(σας) δ(ε) με
τ ολιγον τους Αχαιους πυρ
25 [πολ]ειν την χω(ραν) φ[ευγ(ει) προς
εμφασεως ως επαγειοχως
τοις Αθηναιοις τον πολεμον

6 sqq. 'These (the satyrs) address the spectators on behalf of (?) the poet, and when Dionysus appears mock and jeer at him. Dionysus, being offered by Hera indestructible power, by Athena success in war, and by Aphrodite the prospect of becoming the most beautiful and most beloved of all, adjudges the victory to Aphrodite. Afterwards he sails to Lacedaemon, carries away Helen, and returns to Ida. Hearing soon after that the Achaeans are ravaging the country, he takes refuge with Alexander, and hiding Helen in a basket like a (cheese?) and turning himself into a ram awaits the event. Alexander appears and detects them both, and orders them to be led away to the ships intending to hand them over to the Achaeans; but when Helen objects he takes pity on her and keeps her to be his wife, but sends off Dionysus to be handed over. Dionysus is accompanied by the satyrs who encourage him and declare that they will not desert him. In the play Pericles is satirized with great plausibility by innuendo for having brought the war upon the Athenians.'

6. Perhaps *απερχ]εται*, as Körte suggests. *ουτοι*: sc. the satyrs (cf. l. 42), as Blass thinks. Though of course this is not a satyric play, there seems no reason why a chorus should not be composed of satyrs, especially in a comedy in which Dionysus is the chief character. The verbs in ll. 11–2 are very appropriate too to the satyrs, who occur in l. 42 as if they had been mentioned before.

8. *πυων ποιη( )* is corrupt. Blass suggests *υπερ του ποιη(του)*, which makes good sense but is a rather drastic change; cf. however the next note. Körte prefers *π(ερι) των ποιη(των)*, which is nearer to the text of the papyrus.

12. *παραγενομενων* seems to be a mistake for some word like *προτεινομένων*. Körte suggests *παραγγελλομενων*.

30. Perhaps *ωσπ[ερ τυρον* or *ταριχ(ος)*; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 558–60 *τὸ πολὺ τάριχος οὐκ εἴρηκά πω. μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ τὸν τυρόν γε τὸν χλωρόν, τάλαν, ὃν οὗτος αὐτοῖς τοῖς ταλάροις κατήσθιεν.* *γαρον* is also possible; cf. Crat. *Fr. inc.* 280 *ὁ τάλαρος ὑμῖν διάπλεως ἔσται γάρου.* Körte prefers *ορνιν* or *χηνα*, *τάλαρον* being the technical word in Athenaeus p. 122 for a bird-basket.

664. Philosophical Dialogue.

Height 29 *cm.*

Part of a philosophical dialogue on the subject, apparently, of government, one of the characters in which is no less a person than Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens. There remain in all portions of four columns, contained in two main fragments which do not join and of which the relative position has to be determined by internal evidence. In Fr. (*a*), the first column of which is complete, some one who speaks in the first person gives an account of his

movements at the time of the usurpation of Pisistratus. He had left Athens after that event took place and joined Solon in Ionia; subsequently at the instance of his friends, including Pisistratus himself, and on the advice of Solon, he returned to Athens and was there invited to the house of Hagnotheus, a relative of his own and grandfather of Thrasybulus son of Philomelus, a young man whose guardian he himself was. Of the second column we have no more than the first few letters of the lines; but in the lower part of it other speakers evidently intervened (l. 68 ἔ]φη ὦ [, l. 81 ὑπολαβώ[ν]). Fr. (*b*), containing another nearly complete column, is also in dialogue form. Here the persons are, besides the narrator (ἔφην, ll. 7, 12), Pisistratus, Ariphron, and Adimantus, and the principal subject of conversation is the career of the tyrant Periander of Corinth, in whose company Ariphron professes that he and Adimantus had recently been, and whose misfortunes he proceeds to describe. Most probably Fr. (*a*) comes from near the beginning of the work, and the narrative portion of Col. i is introductory to the whole dialogue. How much, if anything, is lost between Col. ii and Col. iii (Fr. (*b*)) is of course quite uncertain, but it is improbable that there is any considerable gap. The anonymous narrator in Col. i will accordingly be the same person as the speaker in Col. iii. ll. 92–102; but the identity of this intimate friend (l. 13) of Pisistratus and sharer in the exile of Solon remains a puzzle. Ariphron is perhaps to be recognized as the grandfather of Pericles; and Thrasybulus, son of Philomelus, of whom it is here remarked (l. 29) that he was popularly supposed to be in love with the tyrant's younger daughter, is evidently the Thrasybulus of whom Plutarch tells the story (*Apophth. Reg. et Imp.*, p. 189 c, *de Ira Cohib.*, p. 457 f, cf. Val. Max. v. 1. 2) that he kissed the daughter of Pisistratus at a chance meeting, and that the latter instead of being angry gave him her hand in marriage. Polyaenus, who adds an episode of the abduction of the girl by her lover (*Strategem.* 5. 14), substitutes Thrasymedes for Thrasybulus, but agrees with our author as to the name of his father, Philomelus.

But who was the author of this dialogue? It is written in remarkably good Attic (except εἰς οἶκον for εἰς (τὴν) οἰκίαν in l. 40), and so far as the style is concerned it may be a product of the Aristotelian age. Blass, indeed, suggests that it might actually be attributed to Aristotle, with whom Pisistratus was a favourite figure. In support of such a view appeal could be made to certain resemblances in language between this fragment and the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία—assuming the authenticity of that work:—compare e. g. ll. 3–6 (Σόλων) προλέγων Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι Πεισίστρατος ἐπιβουλεύει τυραννίδι πείθειν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἦν δυνατός with *Ath. Pol.* 14. 2 ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι Πεισίστρατον ἐπιτιθέμενον τυραν[νίδι] . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων [οὐκ ἔπει]θεν, ll. 8–9 ἀποδημίαν ἐντεῦθεν ποιησάμενος with *Ath. Pol.* 11. 1, 13. 1 ἀποδημίαν

ἐποιήσατο, ll. 23–4 διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων κατάστασιν with *Ath. Pol.* 42. 1 ἡ νῦν κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας, ll. 25–6 οὐδεὶς ἐπεδεδώκει πρὸς μεγαλοφύειαν with *Ath. Pol.* 37. 2 πολὺ πρὸς ὠμότητα (cf. l. 112) καὶ πονηρίαν ἐπέδοσαν; cf. also l. 115 τίνι ταύτῃ ἔφ[η] and Arist. Fr. 44 τί τοῦτ' ἔφη. But such coincidences are not very conclusive; and on the other hand these fragments do not conform to the normal type of Aristotelian dialogue, in which, as we know both from the allusions of Cicero (*ad Att.* iv. 16, xiii. 19) and his imitations, the leading part was taken by the philosopher himself. It will be safer then to leave the writer anonymous, though he may well be as early as the third or even fourth century B.C.

As will have been observed, this papyrus reopens some important questions of history and chronology, upon which some remarks are made in the commentary (notes on ll. 1–10, 106–9). If Solon went to Asia when Pisistratus became tyrant, his famous meeting with Croesus may have occurred then, and the 'beautiful myth' be after all a sober fact. The synchronism of the tyrannies of Pisistratus and Periander is another very interesting point, which with the testimony of Herodotus partly on the same side should not be dismissed too lightly. It is no doubt a question how far the setting of an imaginary dialogue can supply a basis for historical conclusions; but a comparison with such a work as Plutarch's *Symposium* is hardly fair to the present fragments, which may probably be regarded as an index to the average opinion of the day, and as such deserving of consideration, in spite of the conflict with the 'so-called systems of chronology, the contradictions of which a thousand correctors have not yet succeeded in harmonizing.'

The papyrus is written in tall columns measuring 22 × 7 *cm.*, in a round uncial hand rather resembling that of **412** (P. Oxy. III, Plate v), which dates approximately from the year 245 A.D.; the present example is more regular and graceful, but no doubt belongs to about the same period. A second hand has made one or two small corrections, and seems also to have added some at least of the paragraphi and stops. Of the latter all three kinds are found (middle at ll. 26, 38, 105, 153; low at l. 18); but they are not used with much discrimination. The double points, which as usual mark a change of speaker, also look more like the second hand than the first. The occasional diaereses, however, and marks of elision, as well as the angular signs sometimes employed for filling up a short line, are with little doubt by the original scribe.

(*a*) Col. i.	Col. ii.
προτερον η Πισιστρατον λαβειν	[θεωι
την αρχην απεδημησεν· επει	[

δη προλεγων Αθηναιοις οτι
Πισιστρατος επιβουλευει τυ
ραννιδι πιθειν αυτους ουκ ην
δυνατος· εγω δε καταμεινας

ηδη Πισιστρατου τυρανν[ο]υν
τος αποδημιαν εντευθεν
ποιησαμενος εν Ϊωνιαι μετα
Σολωνος διετριβον· χρονωι

δε των φιλων σπουδαζον
των ηκειν με· και μαλιστα
Πισιστρατου δια την οικειο
τητα· Σολωνος κελευοντος
επανηλθον Αθηναζε κατε

λιπον μεν ουν ενταυθα παι
δα Θρασυβουλον τον Φιλο
μηλου. κατειληφειν δε μει
ρακ[ι]ον ηδη μαλα καλον καγα
θον και την οψιν και τον τρο
πον πολυ διαφεροντα των
ηλικιωτων τεταπεινωμε

νων γαρ των αλλων δια την
των πραγματων καταστασιν·
ουδεις επεδεδωκει προς με
ει
γαλοφυαν· παντας δε ϋπερε
βαλεν ϊπποτροφιαις και κυ
νηγιαις και ταις αλλαις δαπα
ν[αις] δ̣[ιε]βεβλητο δ εν τηι πο

λ[ε]ι της νεωτερας των του
τ̣ου Πισιστρατου θυγατερων
εραν ϊδων αρρηφορουσαν·

Αγνοθεος ουν ο παππος αυ
του π̣αρ ωι και τρεφομενος

λ̣[
φρ[
σ̣ω̣[

π̣[
λοι̣[
συν̣[
με[
ουδ̣[
του πατ[ρος

παρην̣[
γυν[
του[
θησ̣[
δια̣[
αυτω̣[

μετα[
τολμ[
τησ . [
του α[
ξ̣εικ[
φη ω̣ [
δρειαν[
χρον[
νειχετ[
ταγει̣[
εμ̣[

μη[
ραν[
κεματ̣[

κακεινη[
παινεν[
νησυμ[
ποδημι[α

35 ετυγχανεν ο Θρασυβουλος·
δια το του πατρος και της
μητρος ορφανον καταλει
φθηναι· τραχυνθ̣ε̣ις τι μοι
δοκε[ι] προς αυτον καλει μ'
40 εις οικον· συγγενη τε αυτοις
οντα και καταλελειμμενον
επιτροπον υπο του Φιλομη
λου· καγω μαλα προθυμως
εβαδιζον και γαρ ην εν ηδο
45 νη μοι το συνδιατριβειν Αγνο

ὑπολαβω[ν
νηδ[
γαρ η[
ρον . [
85 μη γ[
ταισα̣[
γουν [
[[οστ]]ι[
οσω[
90 αυτο[

(*b*) Col. iii.

μεν ουτως πιθανωι εοικεν
ει τοινυν εφην αληθη ταυτ [ε
στιν ουτ αν Περιανδρωι λυ
σιτελοιη μαλλον αρχειν η ὑ
95 φ ετερου α[ρχ]εσθαι· ουτ' αλλωι
ουθενι τω[ν] φαυλως αρχοντων·
δοκω γαρ α̣[υτ]ον εφην εν τοις
φιλτατοις [κομι]εισθαι τας αμαρ
τιας· τι γαρ [φιλ]τερον ανδρι
100 νουν εχο[ντι] πατριδος· και
[κ]ατα φυσιν [οι]κ̣ειων ανθρω
[π]ων : ὑπο[λαβ]ων ουν ο Αρι
[φ]ρων αλη[θη ν]η Δι' εφη λε
[γ]εις· και βου[λ]ομεθα σοι μαρ
105 [τ]υρησαι εγω και Αδειμαντος
[ο]υτοσὶ παραγενομενοι νυνι
[Πε]ριανδρωι δια την ωμοτη
[τ]α μεγαλη πανυ συμφοραι
[π]εριπεσοντι : και ο Πισιστρα
110 [τ]ος τινι ταυτηι εφ[η :] εγω ει

Col. iv.

. .
αυ[
σθ[
λευ̣[
δετ[
140 εφα[
ναν̣[

[π]εν φρασω· προ τ[ου γαρ] Κυ
[ψε]λον τον Περιανδρ[ου π]ατε
[ρα] λαβειν την αρχη[ν εκ]ρα
[το]υν της πολεως ο[ι καλο]υ
ι[
115 [μ]ενοι Βακχυ[αδαι] συ[γγενεια]
[με]γαλη· λαβ[ον]τος [δε αυ]
[το]υ την αρχην το[υτων το]
[μεν] πληθος εφυγε τ[. . . . . .]
[. . .]ιν ολιγο[ι] δε και[. . . . . .]
120 [. . . .]ειπ[ο]ν ουν υϊεις [. . . . .]
[. . .]ενει[. . .]τεσ . α[. . . . . .]
[. . .]ρχον[. . .]μεραι[. . . . . .]
[. . .]ενηι θ[. . .]ντες εσ[. . . . .]
[. . .]ωι οι επ[.] . ως δεο[. . . . .]
125 [. . π]ρος το[ν Π]εριανδ[ρον . .]
[. . .]σι μοι [πλ]ησιαζε[ιν . . .
[. . . .]νποτ[. .] ὑπερ το[υ Πε
[ρια]νδρου· κ[αι] τις εισα[. . . .
[. .] κελευσα . [. .]στινο[. . . .
130 [. . .]νειν ω[. . .]λεται· . [. . . .
[. . .]η εξει ι[. . .]προπι[. . . .
[. . .]λομαι κ[. . .] βουλ[. . . .
[. . .]ιωσπερ[. . . . . .
[. . . .] . ειουτ[. . . . . .
135 [. . . .] . εντο[. . . . . .

αυτη[
απο[
τα[ω[
145 τω[
λω[
τρα . [
κου[
ρον[
. . .

. . .

(c) 150]α[
]ουτ[
]ειναι[
]ρην[
]ανελ[
155]υμοφ[
]νδεβ[

]με ασπ[
] και παλ[
]εφυ[
160]ος εα[
]νον[
] ευρον[
] . σασ[

'(Solon) before Pisistratus seized the government went abroad; for his warnings to the Athenians that Pisistratus was aiming at a tyranny failed to convince them. I however stayed on; but when the tyranny of Pisistratus was already established I left the country and lived in Ionia with Solon. After some time my friends were anxious for my return, and particularly Pisistratus, on account of our intimacy; so as Solon urged it I went back to Athens. Now I had left there a boy named Thrasybulus, the son of Philomelus. I found him grown into a very handsome and virtuous young man, far superior in looks and manners to the others of his age; for in the general debasement due to the political situation no one had advanced to any nobility of character. He surpassed them all in horse-breeding and the chase and other such expensive pursuits; and it was said against him in the city that he was in love with the younger daughter of Pisistratus, whom he had seen carrying the vessels of Athene. His grandfather Hagnotheus in whose house it happened that Thrasybulus, who had been bereft of both father and mother, was being brought up, being, I think, a little annoyed with him, invited me to his house as I was their kinsman and had been left guardian by Philomelus. I was very ready to go, for Hagnotheus' company was a pleasure to me . . .'

1–10. This statement that just before the establishment of the tyranny of Pisistratus Solon left Athens and went to Ionia is not only new but conflicts with the account of Plutarch (*Sol.* 30–1), who represents Solon as refusing to fly and as living on at Athens in friendly relations with the usurper. The *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (14. 2) does not suggest that Solon retired from Athens, though on the other hand there is nothing there inconsistent with such a view; it is simply stated that Solon's warnings and opposition proved fruitless. Diogenes Laertius indeed asserts (i. 51, 62) that Solon died in Cyprus, and this statement may now have to be treated with more respect than heretofore. A new light is thus turned upon the much discussed question of the meeting between Solon and Croesus as king of Lydia. The usurpation of Pisistratus and the accession of Croesus to sole sovereignty are placed in the same year, B.C. 560, and there will be no chronological objection to the interview described by Herodotus, if it is transferred to this period. With regard to the date of Solon's death, *χρονωι* in l. 10 here is too vague to build any argument upon; according to Heraclides Ponticus he survived the overthrow of the constitution *συχνὸν χρόνον*, according to Phanias of Ephesus less than two years (both *ap.* Plutarch, *Sol.* 32).

5. l. *πείθειν.*

11. This construction of *σπουδάζειν* with the infinitive is common in Aristotle, e.g. *Ath. Pol.* 38. 4 *οὓς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν.*

15. *κατελιπον* is probably for *κατέλειπον.*

26. l. *ὑπερέβαλ⟨λ⟩εν.*

29–32. This is the first mention of a second daughter of Pisistratus. With *αρρηφορουσαν* cf. Polyaenus, *Strategem.* 5. 14 *Θρασυμήδης Φιλομήλου τῆς Πεισιστράτου θυγατρὸς ἐρασθεὶς πομπεύουσαν αὐτὴν προσδραμὼν ἐφίλησεν.* Apparently the author of our dialogue either did not know of or did not accept this more romantic version, for *αρρηφορουσαν* and *πομπεύουσαν* can hardly refer to different occasions. For *διαβάλλεσθαι* with the infin. cf. Hdn. 2. 6. 10 *ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην διεβλήθης μισοβασιλεὺς εἶναι,* but the construction is unusual.

37. *ορφανον*: l. *ὀρφανός.*

82. All that remains of the supposed *τ* over the line is a rather coarse horizontal stroke, immediately above a break in the papyrus.

88. The letters *οστ* have each had a short horizontal stroke drawn through them, probably by the first hand; the doubtful *ι* was perhaps also deleted.

91–114. '"This accordingly seems probable. If then," said I, "this be true, it would be of no more advantage to Periander to rule than be ruled by another nor to any other bad ruler. For I suppose," I said, "that he will reap the reward of his misdeeds among those dearest to him. For what is dearer to a sensible man than his country and his blood-relations?" "Yes, by Zeus," struck in Ariphron, "you speak truly, and I and Adimantus here wish to bear you out, having just been with Periander when his cruelty plunged him into a terrible disaster." "What disaster?" said Pisistratus. "I will tell you," he said. "Before Cypselus, the father of Periander, obtained the supremacy, the great clan of the Bacchiadae, as they are called, ruled the city. When he became supreme the majority of them fled . . . a few however remained. . . ."'

98. [κομι]εισθαι τας αμαρτιας in the sense of κομιεῖσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν is a curious expression, though cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 7 κομιουμένους τὰς χάριτας.

106–9. Unless the present conversation is to be supposed to have occurred while Pisistratus was still a private person, which is eminently improbable, this passage plainly implies that Periander of Corinth was not yet dead when the tyranny of Pisistratus was established at Athens. The ordinary chronology places the accession of Periander in B.C. 625 and his death in 585, thus leaving a very considerable interval before the first tyranny of Pisistratus, which no one desires to put earlier than B.C. 560. According to one passage of Herodotus, however, Periander and Pisistratus were contemporaries; for he makes the former arbiter in a war between Athens and Mytilene which followed upon the capture of Sigeum by Pisistratus (v. 94–5). The usual method of avoiding this difficulty is to suppose that there were two wars with Mytilene, and that the arbitration of Periander occurred in the first. But for this there is no kind of evidence, and, as Beloch has pointed out (*Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xlv. p. 466 sqq.), the difficulties involved in this explanation are hardly less than those which it attempts to solve. He himself suggests that the mistake of Herodotus consists in referring an arbitration by Periander in a dispute between Tenedos and Sigeum (Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15. 13) to the period of the war against Mytilene; at the same time Beloch considers that the chronology of Periander is quite insecure, and that he might with advantage be put several decades later. But other references in Herodotus clearly point to the earlier date, for the tyranny of Periander at Corinth synchronized with that of Thrasybulus at Miletus (Hdt. i. 20, v. 92), which was established at the beginning of the reign of Alyattes king of Lydia (i. 18–22); while the eclipse of the sun which ended the war between Alyattes and Cyaxares of Media (i. 74) provides a securely fixed point of departure (approximately B.C. 585). Herodotus' chronology is probably past mending.

108. μεγαλη παυ συμφορα: to what this refers is not clear. As the Bacchiadae were in some way involved, the misfortune is apparently not one of those ordinarily ascribed by tradition to the private life of Periander.

115. Cf. Hdt. v. 92 ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων. It is doubtful whether the mistake of the original hand in the spelling of the name was anything more than υ for ι; but there is barely room in the lacuna for [αδαι].

119. και[: the third letter is quite uncertain; perhaps κατ[εμειναν | απελ]ειπ[ο]ν ουν. The question of the reading here is complicated by the doubt concerning the position of the fragment containing the first part of ll. 120 sqq. Lines 125–6 and 127–8 will suit the arrangement adopted in the text, which moreover brings out a column of exactly the required length. In l. 120 this fragment contains the doubtful ει and part of the π; the rest of the π (which apart from the fragment could be read as τ) is on the upper piece. Another break occurs between ll. 133–4, but here the junction is almost certain. The latter parts of

ll. 128]τις εισα[. . . 132]βουλ[are also on a detached fragment the position of which, though probable from the appearance of the papyrus, is by no means secure.

150–63. This fragment from the bottom of a column very likely belongs to Col. iv; it does not appear possible to find a place for it in Col. iii.

665. History of Sicily.

Fr. (*a*) 10·5 × 4·6, Fr. (*b*) 10·3 × 4·6 *cm.* Plate I.

These fragments, which belong evidently to the same column, of which they formed the upper and lower portions respectively, are notwithstanding their small size of no slight interest and importance. They contain an abstract or summary of events in Sicily, the different items, which are stated in the concisest manner, being marked off by paragraphi and further distinguished from each other by the protrusion of the first lines into the left margin. The papyrus was a regular literary roll, written in a fine uncial hand, which bears a very strong resemblance to that of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the Προοίμια Δημηγορικά (facsimile in P. Oxy. I, p. 54), and also to that of the Bacchylides papyrus, to which it presents a still closer parallel than was provided by the Demosthenes MS. We should assign it, like the Demosthenes, to the second century A.D.; an earlier date is not at all likely. Probably this is part of an epitome of a continuous history of Sicily, and it may well be that, as Blass thinks, the work epitomized was the lost History of Timaeus.

The period to which the fragments refer seems to be that immediately following the general overthrow of the tyrannies in the Sicilian cities which took place about the year 465 B.C. (Diod. xi. 68. 5). This period is indicated by the frequent mentions of conflicts with the ξένοι, by whom are meant the mercenaries settled in the cities by the tyrants as a support of their rule. Diodorus, who is the sole authority for the history of this time, narrates the course of the hostilities at Syracuse between these new comers and the older citizens (xi. 72, 76); and implies that Syracuse was not peculiar in this respect:— 'Almost all the cities,' he says (76. 5), '. . . with one consent came to terms with the strangers (ξένοι) settled there.' The papyrus fills in some of the intermediate details passed over by the historian. We hear of an expedition of ξένοι from Enna and Cacyrum against Gela, which received aid from Syracuse. This was apparently followed by overtures from the ξένοι to the Syracusans (cf. note on l. 5), which, however, proved ineffectual, for the next event is a battle between them. Shortly afterwards the mercenaries settled at Minoa were defeated

by the combined forces of Syracuse and Agrigentum. The activity displayed by Syracuse warrants the inference that she had herself already got the upper hand of her own *ξένοι*, who, as Diodorus relates, were finally defeated in a pitched battle. The campaign of the Syracusans against Catana mentioned at this time by Diodorus (76. 3) is part of the same anti-foreign movement. But hostilities seem to have extended beyond the opposing sections of the various city states. The fragments also supply information of an expedition of Agrigentum against Crastus, and an engagement subsequently occurred at the latter place between the Agrigentines and forces from Himera and Gela, which may be supposed to have come to the assistance of Crastus. These new facts may not be very weighty, but they convey a more adequate idea than was before possible of the period of unrest, the *στάσεις* and *ταραχαί*, which intervened between the overthrow of the tyrannies and the establishment of general peace.

[τω]ν εν Ομφα[λωι και
Κακυρωι ξεν[ων επι
[Γ]ελαν στρα[τεια
βοη[θ]εια Συρα[κ]ο[σιων
5 Γε[λω]ιοις και π . [. . . .
των ξενων προ̣ς [Συρα
κοσιους
μαχη Συρακοσ[ιων και
των ξεν[ω]ν [. . . . .
10 Γλαυκων πε[. . . . .
[. . . . . .]α̣ρ̣[. . . . .
. . . . .
Ακρα[γαν]τινων επι

Κραστον στρ[ατεια
η γενομεν[η περι
15 Κραστον Ϊμερα[ιων
και Γελωιων προς Α[κρα
γαντινους μαχ[η
ως οι την Μινωιαν
των ξενων οικ[ι
20 ζοντες ὕπ Ακρα
γαντινων και Σ[υρα
κοσιων ηιρε̣θ̣η̣[σαν
[. Ακρ]α̣γ̣α̣ν[τιν . . .

1. Ομφα[λωι: cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4. 48 *Hennensium nemore, qui locus . . . umbilicus Siciliae nominatur*, and the spurious line in Callim. *H. in Cer.* 6. 15 *τρὶς δ' ἐπὶ καλλίστης νήσου δράμες ὀμφαλὸν Ἔνναν.*

2. Κακυρωι: the site of this town, which is mentioned by Ptolemy, has been placed at the modern village of Cassaro, near Palazzolo; the present passage seems to indicate that it should be looked for further west, and the position given in Kiepert's *Topogr. Hist. Atlas* is probably not far from the truth.

5. All that remains of the letter at the end of the line is a straight stroke which

suggests ε, η, or ι. ρ is not impossible, but there is no trace of the tail, and we therefore hesitate to introduce πρ[εσβεια, which is otherwise attractive, into the text.

10. Γλαυκων is evidently a personal name, but nothing is known of this bearer of it.

11. The gap between the two fragments probably extends to about 10 lines, but it may be larger.

13. Crastus is described by Steph. Byz. as πόλις Σικελίας τῶν Σικανῶν, citing the Σικελικά of Philistus. Its position is unknown; no doubt it was in the neighbourhood of Agrigentum.

22. The vestiges of the letter after ηιρε do not suggest θ, but can hardly be said to be inconsistent with that letter, since there is no other example of a θ in the text. If the shape of the θ was tall and narrow, as in the Bacchylides papyrus, the effect of mutilation might be that actually presented in the fragment. Of the supposed η only a small speck remains.

23. A fresh entry probably commences at this line, and in that case there would be one or even two letters before Ακρ]αγαν[τιν . ., e.g. ἡ or τὸ 'Ακρ]αγαν[τίνων.

666. Aristotle, Προτρεπτικός.

27·2 × 9·8 *cm.*

A sheet containing two practically entire columns, preceded by the ends of lines from a third, the text of which includes a lengthy passage quoted by Stobaeus (*Flor.* 3. 54) from Aristotle, and now generally assigned to the Aristotelian dialogue Προτρεπτικός or Exhortation to Philosophy (Rose, *Fr.* 57). Besides additions at the beginning and end of the excerpt the papyrus supplies a sentence omitted by Stobaeus in the middle of his quotation. The evidence of these supplementary passages, though bringing no direct proof of the identity of the treatise of which they formed part, tend to support the attribution to the Προτρεπτικός, in particular ll. 161 sqq., where the foregoing argument on the worthlessness of external goods as such results in a recommendation of philosophy (cf. note on l. 170).

The text is written in narrow columns (width 4 *cm.*), placed very close together, in rather small informal uncials, which we should date about the middle or latter part of the second century. No breathings or accents occur, and stops are also absent, the sentences being divided off by paragraphi only. The common angular sign is used to fill up short lines. Parts of the initial letters of the first few lines of a fourth column remain, but all that is recognizable is a doubtful ε opposite l. 118 and an ω opposite l. 120. The papyrus is dirty and rubbed in places.

The appended collation is derived from Hense's edition of Stobaeus, iii.

3. 25. The MSS. referred to are the Escurialensis Mendozae (M), Parisinus (A), and Marcianus as embodied in the edition of Trincavelli (Tr.). Other authorities are Maximus Monachus, *Gnomologium*, c. 17 (= Max.), where the earlier part of the quotation in Stobaeus is given with some slight textual variations, and the *Florilegium Laurentianum* (Laur.), where the extract of Maximus reappears (Meineke, *Stobaeus*, iv. 225, 25). The papyrus sometimes supports one, sometimes another, of these witnesses, and occasionally corrects them all. It is, however, itself far from being impeccable, and in one or two places where it is the sole authority emendation is necessary.

Col. i.

]χη
]νει
]τε
]νδου
5]κα̣ι
]ατη[.]
]φιαν
]τ̣ων
]λα̣σ̣
10]πλε
]α̣ν
]ων
]μια̣
]δεν
15]τ̣ιθεσ
]ων
]λα
]κ̣ου
]ι̣σ̣ .
23 lines lost.
43]α̣φισ
]ν̣ισ
45]διστι
]η̣μ̣μ̣ι
] . διζον

Col. ii.

τε πραττειν των
δεοντων τι προ
60 αιρουμενους
κωλυηι διο δει

την τουτων
θεωρουσαν ατυ
χιαν φευγειν
65 και νομιζειν
την ευδαιμονιαν
ουκ εν τωι πολ
λα κεκτησθαι γι
νεσθαι μαλλον
70 η εν τωι πως
την ψυχην δια
κεισθαι και γαρ

σωμα ου το λαμ
πραι εσθητι κε
75 κοσμημενον
φαιη τις αν ε[ι
ναι μακαριον
αλ[λα] το την υ[γει
αν εχον και σ̣[που
80 δαιως διακε[ιμ]ε
νον καν μηδεν

Col. iii.

115 δια της ψυχης αγα
θων πλεονασασα
ει αυτων ειναι
τα κτηματα παν
των αισχιστον
---
120 ωσπερ γαρ ει τις
των οικετων
των αυτου χει
ρων ειη καταγε
λαστος αν γενοιτο
125 τον αυτον τροπον
οις πλεονος αξιαν
την κτησιν ειναι
συμβεβηκεν της
ιδιας φυσεως αθ[λι
130 ους τουτους ειν̣α[ι
δει νομιζειν

και τουτο κατ α
[λ]ηθειαν ουτως
[ε]χει τικτει γα[ρ
135 ως φησιν η παρ
οιμια κορος μ̣ε̣[ν
υβριν απαιδε[υ
σια δε μετ εξου

αι]σχυνο
] . νι παρ
50]αυτων
]ṣη γαρ
] . κυων
φα]τνηι
]ṇ οταν
τ
55]ṭοσ
]
μη]

των προειρημε
νων αυτωι παρηι
τον αυτον δ[ε] τρο
85 πον και ψυχην
εαν ηι πεπαιδευ
μενη την τοιαν
την και τον τοιου
τον ανθρωπον
90 ευδαιμονα προσ
αγορευτεον εστιν
ουκ αν τοις εκτος
ηι λαμπρως κε
χορηγημενος
95 αυτος μηδενος
αξιος ων ουδε γαρ
[ι]ππον εαν ψαλια
χρυσα και σκευ
ην εχηι πολυτε
100 λη φαυλος ων
τον τοιουτον
αξιον τινος νομι
ζομεν [[τινος νο
μιζομεν]] ειναι
105 αλλ εαν διακειμε
νος ⟨ηι⟩ σπουδαιως
τουτον μαλλον
επαινουμεν

χωρις δε των ει
110 ρημενων συμ
βαινει τοις μηδε
νος αξιοις ουσιν
οταν τυχωσι χο
[ρηγι]ας και των

σιας ανοιαν το[ις
140 γαρ διακειμε[νοις
τα περι την ψυ
χην κακως ου
τε πλουτος ουτ ι
σχυς ουτε καλλος
145 των αγαθων εστ[ιν
αλλ οσωι περ αν α[υ
ται μαλλον αι δια
θεσεις καθ υπ[ερ
βολην υπαρξ[ωσι
150 τοσουτω μειζ[ω
και πλειω τον
κεκτημενον
βλαπτουσι ⟨εαν⟩ ἀν[ευ
φρονησεως [πα
155 ραγενωνται[ι το
γαρ μη παιδ[ι μα
χαιραν τουτ [εστι
το μη τοις φ[αυ
λοις την εξου[σι
160 αν εγχειριζε[ιν

την δε φρον[ησιν
απαντες αν ο[μολο
γησειαν εις τ̣ο̣ [μαν
θανειν γ̣ι̣γ̣νε̣σ̣θ̣[αι ⟨και⟩
165 ζητειν ων τας [δυ
ναμεις φιλοσοφ[ια
περιειληφε̣ν̣ ω̣[σ

τε πως ουκ απ[ρο
φασιστως φιλο[σο
170 φητεον εστι και

58–170. '. . . nor prevent them when purposing to do a right action. We ought to be warned by the spectacle of their plight to avoid it ourselves (?), and should regard happiness not as dependent upon the acquisition of wealth rather than upon a particular state of the soul. Bodily blessings would not be held to consist in adornment with magnificent apparel, but in the possession of health and in sound condition, even in the absence of the other advantages which I have mentioned. In the same way happiness is to be attributed to the disciplined soul and to a man of such a character, not to the man who is magnificently supplied with externals and is in himself worthless. We do not consider a bad horse to be of any value if it has gold chains and costly trappings; we rather give our praise to one that is in sound condition. Besides what we have said, too, worthless persons, when they obtain wealth and value their possessions more than the goods of the soul, are in the worst case of all. For just as a man who was inferior to his own domestics would be ridiculous, so those who come to find their property of more value than their own nature ought to be held miserable. And this is the truth of the matter, for "satiety breeds insolence" as the proverb says, and want of discipline combined with power breeds folly. In a bad state of the soul neither wealth nor strength nor beauty are good things, but the greater the abundance of these qualities, the more do they injure their possessor, if they are unaccompanied by reason. "Do not give a child a knife," is as much as to say, "Do not entrust bad men with power." Now reason, as all would admit, exists for the acquisition of knowledge, and seeks ends the means to which are contained in philosophy; why then should philosophy not be pursued without hesitation . . . ?'

61–4. This sentence might be correct if, as Diels suggests, *θεωρουσαν* referred to some preceding substantive such as *ἡ τῶν σπουδαίων αἵρεσις*. But more probably some correction is required; the simplest perhaps is to emend *θεωρουσαν* to *θεωρουντα* or *θεωρουντας*, with the sense given in our translation. Other expedients would be to read *τοῦτ' οὐ* for *τούτων*, 'the wretched state of mind which neglects this,' or to insert *τι* after *τουτων*, 'which pays great consideration to any of these external things,' but the latter interpretation of *θεωρουσαν* is hardly so natural.

65. The extracts of Stobaeus and Maximus Mon. begin after *και*. *νομίζει δέ* M, *νόμιζε* A, *νομίζειν* Tr., *νομίζομεν δέ* Max., *νομίζειν δεῖ* Laur.

68. *γινεσθαι*: so Max., Laur.; *γίγνεσθαι* MA, Tr.

69. *μαλλον η*: *μᾶλλον δ(έ)* MA, Max., Laur., *ἀλλ' ἐν* Tr.

70–2. *πως την ψυχην*: *τὴν ψ. εὖ* MA², *τῇ ψυχῇ εὖ* A¹, Tr., Max., Laur. Above the *ω* of *πως* there are in the papyrus some faint vestiges, which if not accidental might perhaps represent a cursively written *ευ*; but we have considered this too doubtful for insertion in the text. In any case *πως* has not been cancelled, and if the intention was to indicate a reading *εὖ πως* the *ευ* should have been written further to the left.

73. *σωμα ου το*: so MA, Max., Laur.; *οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα αὐτό* Tr.

76. *τις αν*: so MA², Max., Laur.; *τις εὖ* A¹, *τις* Tr.

78. Considerations of space made it more probable that *υγιαν* or *υγειαν* (A, Tr., Max., Laur.) was written than *υγιειαν* (M).

82. *προειρημενων*: so MSS. except Max., where *παρακειμένων* is found.

85. *ψυχην*: so M, Tr., Max., Laur.; *ψυχή* A.

86. *εαν ηι πεπ.*: so M, Tr., Max., Laur.; *ἔνεστιν ἰδεῖν πεπ.* Tr.

88. *και*: Laur. substitutes *εἰς*. *τοιοῦτον* is omitted in Max.

92. *τοις*: so MA, Laur.; *τις* Tr., Max.

εκτος: so MA, Max., Laur.; *ἐκ τούτων* Tr.

93. λαμπρως: so MA², Max., Laur.; λαμπρός A¹, Tr.

κεχορηγημενος: κεκοσμημένος MSS. (κεκοσμένος Laur., putting λαμπρῶς after κεκοσμ.).

95. αυτος: Max. and Laur. add δέ.

96. ουδε: so A² (and conjecturally Meineke); οὔτε A¹ and the other MSS.

97. εαν ψαλια: ἐὰν ψέλλια MA, Max., Laur.; κἂν ψέλλια Tr.

98–9. A places ἔχῃ before χρυσᾶ.

100. The papyrus does not support Meineke's insertion of αὐτός before φαῦλος which is adopted by Rose.

105. εαν: ὃς ἄν MSS. except Laur., which has ὡς ἄν and adds ὁ before σπουδαῖος.

106. The insertion of ηι (so MSS.) is necessary.

109–19. The excerpts of Stobaeus and Maximus omit this passage, and unfortunately its meaning and construction are obscured by a corruption. Apparently πλεονασασαει conceals something like πλέονος ἄξια, and we may either add συμβῇ (cf. ll. 125–7) and place a comma after κτήματα, when the sense will be as in the translation above, or connecting των δια της ψυχης αγαθων with τυχωσι insert ὅ or ὅπερ (so Diels) before παντων αισχιστον. 'It sometimes happens that worthless persons have both external and mental gifts, and value the former above the latter, which is the most disgraceful thing of all.' *Corruptio optimi pessima.* The latter remedy produces an easier construction and a more pointed sentence.

122. των is omitted in the MSS.

126. πλεονος: πλείονος MSS.

128. συμβεβηκεν: συμβέβηκε MSS.

130. τουτους ειναι: so MSS. except A, which transposes the words.

131. The excerpt of Maximus ends here.

150–1. μειζ[ω] και πλειω: καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω Tr., πλείω καὶ μείζω MA.

153–5. Stobaeus here has χωρὶς φρονήσεως παραγενόμεναι, which is the conclusion of his quotation. In l. 153 we have supposed that the repetition of αν led to the loss of εαν. To read ⟨ε⟩αν [χωρις would make the line too long.

155–60. Cf. Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, 2 βλαβερὰ μάλιστα τροφῆς μὲν ἀφθονία τῷ τὸ σῶμα, κτήσεως δὲ τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν διακειμένῳ κακῶς. καὶ ἐπισφαλὲς καὶ ὅμοιον μαινομένῳ δοῦναι μάχαιραν καὶ μοχθηρῷ δύναμιν, which looks like an imitation of the passage before us. On the close connexion of part of the treatise of Iamblichus with the Aristotelian dialogue cf. Bywater in *Journal of Philology*, ii. 55 sqq.

164. There would hardly be room for the necessary και after γιγνεσθ[αι, but the homoioteleuton may easily have caused its omission; cf. note on 153–5.

169. φιλοσοφητέον was the key-note of the Προτρεπτικός, as of the similarly named work of Iamblichus: cf. Bywater, *ibid.*, pp. 68–9.

667. Aristoxenus?

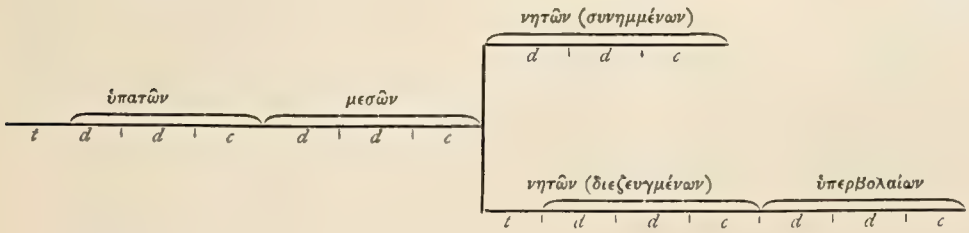
18 × 8 *cm.*

Parts of two columns, the former of which comprises thirty complete lines, containing an analysis of certain musical scales. To the authorship of the fragment we have no real clue. It is natural in such a case to think first of

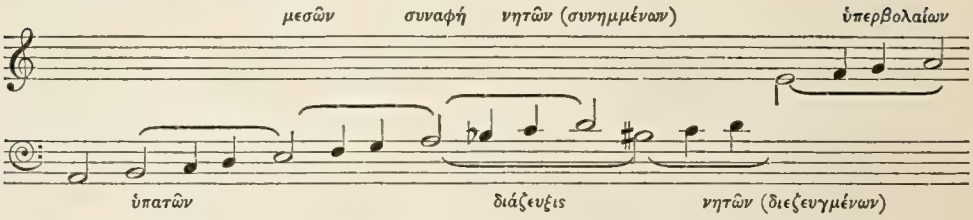
Aristoxenus, the greatest name among the ancient writers upon musical theory; and there is no reason why the piece should not come from his Ἁρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα or some similar work. But on the other hand there is no particular reason why it should, for any treatise on the same subject might include some such discussion as that found here. The papyrus probably falls within the third century. It is written in a clear semi-uncial hand, without stops or other lection marks; a short space, which is indicated in the transcript below, is used to divide the several sentences.

The highly technical language employed in the fragment can hardly be understood or discussed without some preliminary explanation of the composition of the Greek scale. We must here acknowledge our great indebtedness to Mr. H. S. Macran, to whose excellent edition of the *Harmonics* of Aristoxenus the reader is referred for further information.

The fundamental unit which was the basis of the Greek scale in all its later developments was the tetrachord, typically consisting of two *dieses*, i.e. semitones or smaller intervals, and a complement, or the interval remaining when the *dieses* were subtracted from the concord of the fourth. The magnitude of the three intervals determined the genus of the tetrachord as enharmonic or chromatic, the enharmonic variety containing two quarter-tones and a ditone, and the chromatic other divisions, e.g. two semitones and a tone and a half. The more familiar diatonic tetrachord, composed of a semitone and two tones, was distinguished by having only one *diesis*. Larger scales were effected by the arrangement or combination (ἁρμονία) of such tetrachords in two ways, (*a*) by conjunction (συναφή), when the last note of one tetrachord coincided with the first note of the next; or (*b*) by disjunction (διάζευξις), when the tetrachords were separated from each other by a tone. The combination of a pair of tetrachords in these two methods produced respectively the heptachord and octachord scales of the seven-stringed and eight-stringed lyres. Further additions resulted in what was known as the perfect scale, which took the following form (*t* = tone, *d* = *diesis*, and *c* = complement):—



or in modern notation:—



It will be observed that this system diverges at a certain point into a conjunct and a disjunct scheme, the heptachord scale being the basis of the one (the 'lesser complete system') and the octachord that of the other (the 'greater complete system'). The additional note at the bottom was technically known as the *προσλαμβανόμενος*.

To come now to the passage before us. The writer is examining and locating different scales, and has proposed for consideration a heptachord scale of the form *d d c d d c*. A scale of this type would be enharmonic or chromatic (ll. 1–2) and also a conjunctive arrangement (ll. 2 sqq.). Such conjunction would occur in three places in the perfect scale (ll. 10 sqq.; see the scheme above), i.e. in the tetrachords *ὑπατῶν* and *μεσῶν*, *μεσῶν* and *νητῶν* (*συνημμένων*), *νητῶν* (*διεζευγμένων*) and *ὑπερβολαίων*. Disjunction, on the other hand, is only found in the case of the tetrachords *μεσῶν* and *νητῶν* (*διεζευγμένων*). To the given scheme is then (ll. 19 sqq.) added at the lower extremity a tone, corresponding to the *προσλαμβανόμενος* (see above), and the resulting eight-note system is said to occur in the same three combinations as before (ll. 22 sqq.). Here, however, a difficulty arises, for as will be seen on reference to the perfect scale such a scheme occurs in it not thrice but twice only, i.e. in the two halves of the 'greater complete system.' The simplest remedy is to suppose a defect in the text; cf. note *ad loc.*

	Col. i.		Col. ii.
	. . . . .		. . .
	μ̣εν εναρμονιον η χρω		ε̣[
	ματικον επειτα εν		τ̣[
	συναφη κειμενον ει		λ[
	τε ολη ειτε και εν με		λ̣[
5	ρει και ειτε δια των ε	35	τ[

ξης μελωδοιτο τα πολ
λα ειθ υπερβατως η
μεν γαρ διαζευξις αει
νητας και μεσας εφαι
10 νετο ποιειν την δε
συναφην συνεβαινε
κοινωνειν τριων
συστηματων ωστε
σημαινειν εξαυτης
15 εν τοπωι τινι ποτε
ρον δυναται υπατας
και μεσας [[ε]] η ν[[α]]ηταις
και μεσας η υπερβο
λαιας και νητας εστω
20 δε και τονιαιον επι
το βαρυ προσκειμενον
επι τουτοις κοινον
γαρ εσται το σχημα του
το του οκταχορδου
25 των ειρημενων τρι
ων συστηματων κα
[θ]απερ εγενετο γνω
ριμον και εν τοις α
νωτερον οποτε προ
30 φερομενον συστημα

ο̣[
ε[
τ . [
μ[
40 δ̣[
μ[
ε[
δ[
μ̣[
45 μ[
α . [
τα[
π[
ε̣ι̣[
50 δ . [
αι . [
αισ̣[
κα[
δε̣ι̣[
55 και̣ [
δε[
λαι̣μ̣[
του[
νησ̣[
60 νον[
κει [

1–30. '[Such a scale is in the first place] enharmonic or chromatic, in the second place it is a conjunctive system, whether its melodic succession be complete or partial, and mainly consecutive or broken. For disjunction was shown always to occur in the "lower" and "middle" tetrachords, while conjunction was found to enter into three scales, so that it did ⟨not⟩ immediately signify the region in which it lay, i.e. whether it applied to the "upper" and "middle" tetrachords or the "lower" and "middle" or the "lower" and "extreme." Now let a note be added to these at the bass extremity; then this scheme of the octachord will be common to ⟨two of⟩ the three scales already mentioned, as was proved in the foregoing argument when a scale was propounded . . .'

2–7. *μελωδοιτο* is to be taken with *ολη* and *εν μερει* as well as with *δια των εξης* and

υπερβατως. Scales might be curtailed either by diminishing their compass, i.e. dropping notes at the extremities (εν μερει), or by omitting inner notes (υπερβατως); cf. Aristox. *Harm.* p. 17. 30 (Meibom), and Aristid. Quint. pp. 15–6 τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστι συνεχῆ, ὡς τὰ διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς φθόγγων, τὰ δ' ὑπερβατά, ὡς τὰ διὰ τῶν μὴ ἐφεξῆς μελῳδούμενα. For συναφή and διάζευξις generally cf. Aristox. *Harm.* p. 58. 15 sqq. τα πολλα in l. 6 seems otiose.

13 sqq. The construction and sense of this passage are not very clear. If the words are to be left as they stand, something like δεῖν ἡμᾶς must be understood with σημαίνειν; but the change of subject is very awkward, and we prefer to suppose with Mr. Macran that μη was dropped out before σημαινειν. The similarity of the following syllable ση would help to account for the loss.

15. εν τοπωι τινι: sc. κεῖται ἡ συναφή or κεῖσθαι τὴν συναφήν, according as τινι is accented τίνι or τινί. τόπος means technically region or direction of the scale.

22 sqq. This sentence is the *crux* of the fragment, for, as already explained in the introduction, the series of notes apparently indicated only occurs twice in the perfect scale, not three times as here stated by the author. The easiest way out of the difficulty is to adopt Mr. Macran's suggestion that δυοιν has fallen out of the text before των ειρημενων.

668. Epitome of Livy, *XXXVII–XL* and *XLVIII–LV.*

Height 26 *cm.* Plate VI (Col. viii).

Literary papyri from Egypt which are now numbered by hundreds have hitherto, with a few trifling exceptions, been Greek; and Latin literature has been represented only by a small piece of Vergil and a few unimportant historical or juristic fragments. The discovery of an important literary text in Latin is therefore a welcome novelty. This consists of parts of eight columns of an epitome of a history of Rome, the events being grouped together in strict chronological order under the different consular years, and the division of the several books being noted. That the author of the history in question was Livy, though not stated, is obvious from a comparison of the arrangement of the books as numbered in the papyrus with that of the corresponding books in Livy's work.

The epitome is written on the recto; on the verso is the text of part of the Epistle to the Hebrews (657). The presence of the latter enables us to decide the relative position of the different fragments of the Livy with the exception of a few small pieces, two of which had been gummed over places of the recto in order to strengthen the roll, and one of which seems to have been cut off from a much later portion of it (ll. 218–25). The handwriting is a medium-sized upright uncial, with some admixture of minuscule forms (*b*, *d*), and belongs to the same class as the Vergil fragment (P. Oxy. I, Plate viii) and

the Bodleian Chronicles of Eusebius (Palaeographical Soc. ii. Plate 130), but is an earlier example of the mixed style than has hitherto been known. The papyrus was found with cursive documents varying from the second to the fourth century (chiefly third), and the text of the Epistle to the Hebrews is certainly not later than the fourth century (cf. introd. to **657**). The Livy epitome must therefore have been written not later than the beginning of the fourth century, and it more probably belongs to the third. Abbreviations are commonly employed in praenomina, in official titles such as *cos.*, *pr.*, *trib. pl.*, and *liber* in the headings is written *lib.* Other abbreviations are rare; but cf. ll. 15 *pass(a)*, 122 *Masiniss(ae)*, 207 *omnib(us)*. A middle point is placed after abbreviations, but there are no stops. Each column consists of 27–28 lines which are broad and contain on an average 37 letters, but the ends are very uneven although the scribe has no objection to dividing a word between two lines. The lines which mention the consuls for the year project by about three letters into the left margin. In spite of the handsome appearance of the MS., which has a broad margin above and below the calligraphic writing and is certainly not the work of a schoolboy, the text is extraordinarily corrupt. Mistakes in proper names, the occasional omissions of letters, and easy palaeographical errors such as the confusion of *c* and *g* (e.g. l. 27 *intergessit*) are not surprising; but forms such as *coniurium* for *connubium* (l. 17), *fictie grimonibus* for *fictis criminibus* (l. 72), *planus* for *primus* (l. 217), and still more *pugnamentasi* (? *Pergamenos missi*, l. 111), *trigem reddeterbuit* (? . . . *ens deterruit*, l. 184), show that the scribe understood little of what he was writing. It is strange that having swallowed such monstrosities he should have in a few places taken the trouble to make minor corrections, *Chartaginientium* e.g. being altered to *Chartaginiensium* in l. 22, *fodem* to *fidem* in l. 95, and the superfluous *s* of *Lussitanorum* in l. 187 being erased. The epitome briefly chronicles events one after the other in the barest manner with no attempt at connexion or literary style, thereby presenting a marked contrast to the extant epitome of Livy; but this bald, strictly chronological arrangement hardly excuses the grammatical errors both of accidence and syntax which are scattered throughout the text. The lack of confidence which the scribe's Latin necessarily inspires, coupled with the length of the lines, renders the task of restoring the lacunae, which occur in nearly every line, exceptionally difficult, and we have generally abstained from conjectures which did not seem fairly certain. Yet in spite of all these drawbacks, and though it is just when it reaches a new and therefore specially interesting fact that the papyrus is apt to present unusual obstacles to interpretation, the historical value of the new epitome is considerable, as will presently be shown.

The papyrus falls into two main divisions, the first (Cols. i–iii) covering Books 37–40, where Livy's history is extant, the second (Cols. iv–viii) covering Books 48–55, of which only an epitome constructed on quite other lines has been preserved. The first section, which deals with events between B.C. 190 and 179 and necessarily contains no new information, is chiefly interesting because it enables us to see the principles on which the epitome was composed, and hence to form a better estimate of the value of the second section, where no comparison with the actual work of Livy is possible. When allowances are made for the point of view of the compiler, the impression which he leaves is by no means unfavourable. Being limited to the barest catalogue of actual events, he naturally ignores Livy's discussions of origins and causes as well as speeches, but he does not omit any of the more important occurrences. With regard to the less striking incidents his choice is capricious; he tends to insert notices of picturesque stories, e.g. that of Ortiagon's wife (ll. 14–7), the tents in the forum (ll. 60–3), Theoxena (ll. 70–1), even when rather trivial; and the amount of space which he devotes to an event is often in inverse proportion to its importance. The account of the war in Ambracia, to which Livy gives nine chapters, is for instance dismissed in two words (l. 12). It is noticeable that he is more interested in home affairs than the author of the extant epitome, who in Books 37–40 mentions fewer events though entering into more details about them. The language of the papyrus is in the main borrowed from Livy, from whom whole phrases and even clauses are reproduced (e.g. in ll. 78–80), but the epitomizer frequently summarizes Livy in his own words (e.g. ll. 8–10)—a process which sometimes leads to apparent errors (cf. l. 3, note). Twice he seems to have distorted Livy's chronology through combining two separate notices (cf. notes on ll. 7 and 17), but in other respects the chronology of the papyrus faithfully represents that of Livy.

After Col. iii a good many columns are lost which contained the epitome of Books 41–7. With Col. iv begins the second and important section of the epitome, giving a few lines from the end of Book 48 and most of Books 49–55, Col. iv–vi and vii–viii are continuous, but between Cols. vi and vii one column is lost, as is proved by the lacuna in the Epistle to the Hebrews at the corresponding point. Books 50, 54, and 55 are the best preserved, then come 49 and 51. Of Book 52 we have only the beginnings of lines, and Book 53, which was treated at exceptional length, is spoilt by the loss of a whole column. The period with which the papyrus deals, B.C. 150–137, is one of great interest. Abroad there were the Third Punic, Fourth Macedonian (against Pseudophilippus), Achaean, and Spanish Wars, and at home events were leading up to the Gracchan revolution. The existing authorities are far from satisfactory. For

foreign affairs the only sources of the first rank are the fragments of Polybius and the extant epitome of Livy. Where these fail we are dependent mainly upon Appian, supplemented occasionally by such writers as Valerius Maximus, Florus, Eutropius, and Orosius. Of the internal history almost nothing is known except what is to be gleaned from the epitome of Livy and some references in Cicero. Thus wherever the papyrus supplements the existing epitome, the information is extremely welcome, and fortunately they differ from each other in two important respects. The extant epitome (henceforth called Epit.) is a connected narrative, and though the sequence of events is chronological to the same extent as the original history, the epitomizer has not thought it worth while to make clear to which year every event recorded belongs. The papyrus on the other hand being arranged on strict chronological principles, not only do we learn the precise year to which each event mentioned in it was assigned by Livy, but the dates for the parallel portions of Epit. can now be exactly determined, a proceeding which entails several changes in the chronology which Epit. has hitherto been supposed to prove. Secondly, though Epit. is as a rule much longer than the papyrus because it often describes events in greater detail, the brief summary in the latter frequently includes events which are passed over in Epit. Some of these are naturally trivial (e.g. ll. 84–5, 111–5, and 164–6), but others are quite important. The proportion allotted to the different books in Epit. is very uneven. Thus Book 49 in Epit. occupies a good deal of space, the epitomizer entering into some detail both with regard to the Third Punic War and the rise of the pretender in Macedonia. Beside this the account of Book 49 in the papyrus (ll. 87–105) is very meagre, though even so it mentions at least one event which does not occur in Epit. On the other hand Book 53 of Epit. is dismissed in a few lines, the author apparently attaching little importance to the events of B. C. 143–1, and Book 54 (B. C. 141–139) does not occupy much space. Here the papyrus is considerably fuller than Epit., the proportion assigned to each book being more equal. Which of the two epitomes was constructed first is uncertain. The extant one is now generally considered to have been composed not earlier than the second century, and Zangemeister (*Festschr. d. xxxvi philol. Versamml.* 1882, pp. 86 sqq.) would assign it to the fourth, while the author of the compilation in the papyrus no doubt lived in the second or third century, when chronological epitomes were much in vogue in Egypt; cf. **12**, **665**, and the Strassburg fragment edited by Keil. The numerous errors in the text show that we have to deal with a copy some degrees removed from the original composition; but the interval of time need not be long, as is shown by the Oxyrhynchus fragment of Julius Africanus' Κεστοί (**412**), which though written within about fifty years of the composition of

that work is already quite corrupt. The discovery of an epitome of Livy in which the names of the consuls in the ablative case are prefixed to the events of each year goes far to confirm an acute conjecture of Mommsen (*Abh. d. k. Sächs. Ges.* viii. p. 552), who inferred from the internal evidence of Cassiodorus and Orosius that an epitome of such a character, rather than Livy's complete work, lay at the basis of those authors' compilations; the papyrus is, however, much less elaborate than the epitome of which the existence was postulated by Mommsen, and which Zangemeister (*ibid.*) even regards as the basis of the extant epitome of Livy.

We append a brief summary of the chief historical results to be gained from the new find. In foreign affairs the papyrus gives no new information about the Third Punic and Achaean Wars and confirms the generally received view. The chronology of the Macedonian war against Pseudophilippus, which was previously somewhat uncertain, is now fixed more precisely; cf. ll. 101, 106, and 126–7, note. The names of the ambassadors to Bithynia in B. C. 149, which are given in ll. 112–3, enable us to emend a corruption in the name of one of them as found in Polybius; and a hitherto unknown defeat of the Romans in B. C. 141 in Illyria is recorded in l. 175. But much more valuable are the references to the Spanish war, especially the campaigns against Viriathus. Not only does the papyrus supply new facts of importance, a victory (apparently) in B. C. 147 (l. 136), the defeat of L. Metellus in B. C. 142 (l. 167), and the delay of Q. Caepio (ll. 182–4); but it is now for the first time possible to construct the right chronology of the governors of Southern Spain in B. C. 145–39, and the chief events connected with them. Hitherto the few references to the Spanish war in Epit. were insufficient to correct the unsatisfactory account in Appian, whose text is in parts defective. A detailed examination of the changes introduced into the received chronology of this war and of the new light thrown upon Appian is given in the note on l. 167. More interesting, however, than defeats and victories are the references in the papyrus to home affairs. With regard to events previously known the most striking novelty is the date of the famous accusation of L. Aurelius Cotta by Scipio Africanus, which is placed by the papyrus in B. C. 138 in place of B. C. 133–29, a change which brings about a conflict between Livy and Cicero. Lines 115–6 probably fix the hitherto uncertain date of the *Lex Scantinia*. Among details which are new are the important military reform introduced by Appius Claudius in B. C. 140 (ll. 177–8), the dispute between the consul and the tribunes in the same year (ll. 182–4), and the statement about the ancestry of A. Gabinius, author of the *Lex Gabinia* (l. 193). It is also a matter of interest that we can now connect with Livy several statements of later writers, e. g. Dio Cassius (ll. 195–6, note), Valerius

Maximus (notes on ll. 161–3, 164–6, and 192), Frontinus (ll. 188–90, note), and Obsequens (ll. 127–9, note). Though the sadly imperfect condition of the text prevents this list from being much longer, and the numerous fragmentary references to hitherto unknown events serve only to accentuate the sense of loss, the papyrus is nevertheless a very serviceable addition to the authorities for the period from B.C. 150–139, and is a welcome violation of the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by Greek philology in the recovery of classical literature from Egypt.

For many suggestions and references in the commentary on this papyrus we are indebted to Mr. W. Warde Fowler. The first proofs of our publication were submitted to Profs. Kornemann, Reid, and Wissowa, who have also contributed much to the elucidation of several problems.

Col. i.

[in Hispa]nia Romani caesi. Book 37 (B.C. 190).
[M. Fulvio] Cn. Manlio cos. B.C. 189.
[. . . . . .]ṣ pax iterum data est. P. Lepidinus {maximus}
[pontif]ex maximus Q. Fabium pr(aetorem) quod flamen
5 *[Quirin]alem erat proficisci in Sardiniam*
[. . . . .]ạnt. Ant{i}ocho regi pax data. Lusitani
[vastati.] Rhodonia desoli deducta.
[Glabrio c]ensuram petens minantes
[accusa]tionem compellitoribus composito
10 *[destiti]t.*
lib(er) xxxviii Book 38.
[Ambra]cia capta.
[Gallog]raecis in Pamphylia proelio vastatis
[. . . . . .]a liberata. Origiacontis captian nobilis
15 *[centuri]onem cuius vim pass(a) erat aurum admit*
[t . . . . .] poscentem occidit caputque eius ad virum
[secum? tulit.] Campanis coniurium datum. [ ]
[inter Achae]os et Lacedaemonios cruenta [pr]oelia.
[M. Valerio L]ulio Calinatore cos. B.C. 188.
20 *[. . . . . .p]raeda ex Gallograecia per Cra . [. . . .*
[ducta. L. M]inucius Myrtilus et L. Man{i}liu{s
[per legat]os Chartaginien[[t]]ium qui
[pulsi eran]t ⟨avecti?⟩.
[M. Aemilio C. Fl]aminio cos. B.C. 187.

25 [*P. Scipio*] *Africanus a Quintis Metellis die*{*s*}[
[*dicta in Li*]*tratum abi*⟨*i*⟩*t, qui ne revocaretur*
[*Gracchus t*]*rib*(*unus*) *pl*(*ebis*) *intergessit. L. Cornelius*

3. l. *Licinius* for *Lepidinus*. 5. l. [*quirin*]*alis*. 7. l. *Bononia* for *Rhodonia*; cf. p. 102. 8. l. *minantibus*. 9. l. *competitoribus proposito*. 14. l. *Ortiagontis captiva*. 17. l. *connubium* for *coniurium*. 19. l. *L*]*ivio Salinatore*. 20. l. *per Thra*[*ciam*. 25. l. *Petilliis* for *Metellis*. 26. l. *Li*]*terninum*. 27. l. *intercessit*.

Col. ii.

Scipio dam[*natus* . . . .] . *eni*.
[*lib*(*er*) *xxxv*]*iiii* Book 39.
30 *per C. Flami*[*nium et M. Aemiliu*]*m cos. Ligures*
perdomiti. v[*iae Flaminia e*]*t Aemiliana munita*[*e.*
Latinorum [. . . . . .]*inum coacta*
ab Roma re[*dire. Manlius* . .]*m de Gallo-*
graecis in t[*riumpho* . . . . . .]*an*[. *pe*]*cunia*
35 *quae trans*[*lata erat* . . . . .]*tis p*[*e*]*r*[*s*]*oluta.*
Sp. Postum⟨*i*⟩*o* [*Q. Marcio co*]*s.* B. C. 186.
Hispala Fa[*cenia meretri*]*ce et pupillo*
Aebutio qu[*em T. Sempronius*] *Rutilius*
tutor et ma[*ter Duronia ci*]*rcumscribserant*
40 *iudicium re*[*ferentibus Ba*]*ccha-*
⟨*n*⟩*alia subla*[*ta* . . . . . *His*]*pan*[*i*]
subacti. at[*hletarum cer*]*tamina*
primum a Fu[*lvio Nobilior*]*e edita.*
Galli⟨*s*⟩ *in Ital*[*iam transgressis Ma*]*rcellum*
45 [*p*]*ersuasit* [*ut trans Alpes redire*]*nt. L. Cornelius*
Scipio pos[*t bellum Antiochi*] *ludos voti-*
vos con[*lata pecunia feci*]*t.*
App[*i*]*o Clau*[*dio M. Semproni*]*o cos.* B. C. 185.
Ligures fu[*gati* . . . . . .]*llis accepta*
50 *P. Claudio Pulchr*[*o L. Porcio Li*]*cinio cos.* B. C. 184.
homini ccd ∞ [*a Naevio pr*(*aetore*) *ven*]*efici*⟨*i*⟩ *damnati.*
L. Quintius Fla[*mininus* . . . .] *Gallia*
quod Philippo [*Poeno scorto*] *suo deside-*
rante gladia[*torium specta*]*culum*

37. l *Fe*[*cenia*. 39. l. *ci*]*rcumscripserant*. 40. l. *indicium*. 44. l. *Ma*]*rcellus*. 51. l. *hominum circa d*(*uo*) (*millia*)?

Col. iii.

55 *sua manu Bonu[m nobilem occiderat*
a lanatone cen[sore senatu motus est.
vastaita Porcia [facta.
M. Claudio Marcello [Q. Fabio Labeone cos. B. C. 183.
P. Licini Crassi po[ntificis maximi
60 *ludis fune⟨b⟩ribus [. . . . . in foro*
tabernaculis po[sitis evenit id quod
nate[s c]eçin[e]rat [tabernacula . . . . .
in foro futura. i̤[16 letters
dim[. . .] . . m. Han[nibal 12 letters
65 *f̤[. . . . .]ṳh̤e[* 19 letters
l[ib(er) xxxx Book 40.
L. A[emilio C]n. Berio [cos. B. C. 182.
[. . . . . .] bellum p̤[16 letters
[. . . . . .]ellitesin[16 „
70 *[. . . . . .] Theoxen[a* 15 „
in mare m[.]ugien[. . . . . Demetrius
fictie grimonibus [accusatus. . . . . .
per patrem coactu[s 14 letters
P. Lentulo M. Paebio [cos. B. C. 181.
75 *in agro L. Nerylli sc[ribae libri Numae inventi.*
A. Postumio C. ⟨Calpurnio⟩ [cos. B. C. 180.
cum Liguribus Hisp[ani subacti.
L. Livius trib(unus) pl(ebis) quod [annos nati quemque
magistratum pete[rent rogatio lata
80 *est.*
Q. Fulvio M. Manlio c[os. B. C. 179.
M. Lepidi et Fulvii No[bilioris . . . . . .

55. l. *Boiu[m.* 56. l. *M. Catone* for *lanatone.* 57. l. *basilica* for *vastaita.* 62. l. *vate[s]* for *nate[s].* 67. l. *Baebio* for *Berio.* 72. l. *fictis criminibus.* 74. l. *Cornelio* (or *Cethego*) for *Lentulo* and *Baebio* for *Paebio.* 75. l. *Petillii* for *Nerylli.* 78. l. *a L. Villio* for *L. Livius* and *quot* for *quod.*

Col. iv.

adversus Cha[r]taginienses. Lusitani va[stati. Book 48 (B. C. 150).
C. Corneliu[s . . . .]ecus quod P. Decim su[. . . . .

85 *a . ịctam ingenụ[a]m stupraverat d cụ[. . . . .*
damnatus.
li[b(er)] xxxxv[i]iii Book 49.
L. Marcio Censorino M. Man⟨i⟩lio cos. B.C. 149.
bellum Punicum tertium exortum. Utic[enses
90 *[b]enigne locant auxiliate. Chartagin[i]ẹ[nses*
[i]n [d]edicionem venerunt, iussi ọmn[i]ạ [sua
in alium locum trạ[nsferr]ẹ mọ[. . . . . .
redierunt. Roman[os . . . . .]ṣ[. . . . . .
pepulerunt. Scipio[21 letters
95 *Aemiliani f[[o]]dem p[. . . . . Aemi-*
liani virtute exer[citus qui obsessus
a Poenis erat liber[atus. 16 letters
per Caridemum poe[. . . . . Ser. Galba a Lusi-
tanis reus product[20 letters
100 *fili quos flens coṃ[plexus est. Andrisco . . .*
tịi se Philippi philiu[m ferente Macedonia
per arma occupata. [20 letters
Man⟨i⟩lio et Marc⟨i⟩o c[os. quarti ludi saecula-
re[s] factos quos opo[rtuit Diti ex Sibyllinis
105 *carminibus [Ter]ẹn[ti facti sunt.*
[lib(er) l Book 50.
per socios popu[li Romani Pseudophilippus
in ultimam c[24 letters
lat[. . .]ḷ[. .]ạṭ[17 „ *Prusias?*

90. l. *auxiliati*; cf. p. 104. 101. l. *filiu[m.*

Col. v.

110 *[rex Bithy]niae positus est. ad Attalum regem*
[. . . . . .] in pugnamentasi sunt legati Marco
[. . .poda]gricus A. Hostilius Mancinus capite
[. . . . . .]a quondam L. Manilius Volso stolidus
[. . . . . .] ḷigationem dixerunt M. Cato respondit
115 *[nec caput] ṇec pedes nec cor habere{nt}. M. Sca[n]ti⟨ni⟩us*
[. . . . . .]am tulit ⟨de⟩ in stupro deprehensi⟨s⟩.
[Sp. Albino L. Piso]ne cos. B.C. 148.

[*Masinis*(*sa*) *ult*]*imae senectutis liberos* IIII
[. . . . . .]*s reliquit decedens, cuius re-*
120 [*gnum natu max*]*imis filis per miliaannum distributum.*
[*Marcellus leg*]*atus ad Masinissam missus*
[*obrutus. Ha*]*sdrubal quod adfinis Masiniss*(*ae*) *erat*
[. . . . . .]*ta subselli socius est. Scipio Aemilianus*
[*consul creat*]*us.*
125 [*M'. Manilius*] *in Africa*{*m*} *pr*[*o*]*spere dimicatus* [*es*]*t.*
[*Iuventii pr*(*aetoris*) *i*]*n Thessalia exercitus caesus.*
[*Philippus a*] *Metello captus. sacrarium*
[. . . . *et laur*]*us soci maximo incendio*
[*inviolata.*]
130 [*lib*(*er*) *li*] Book 51.
[*P. Cornelio C. Livio*] *cos.* B. C. 147.
[. . . . . *Cartha*]*ginein Appius crudelissime*
[. . . . . .]*ne obsidentiis Romanos non*
[. . . . . *Carthag*]*inem crebris proeli*⟨*is*⟩.
135 [*per Achaeor*]*um pr*(*aetorem*) *Corinthi legati Romano*
[*pulsati. Lu*]*sitani subalti.*

111. l. *in Pergamenos* (?) *missi* for *pugnamentasi* (cf. p. 105) and *M*(*arcus*) . . . . for *Marco.* 114. l. *legationem.* 120. l. *Aemilianum* for *miliaannum.* 123. l. *occisus* for *socius.* 125. l. *dimicavit* for *dimicatus* [*es*]*t.* 133. l. *obsidentes.* 135. l. *Romani.* 136. l. *subacti*; cf. p. 107.

Col. vi.

Cn. Corne[*lio L. Mummio cos.* B. C. 146.
[*p*]*er Scipion*[*em Carthago*
[*d*]*irepta. qu*[
140 *visset uxo*[*rem*
duobus fil[*is*
potestate [
Aemilia qu[
[*lib*(*er*) *lii* Book 52.
145 *L. Mumanus C*[*orinthum diruit.*
uxore o[
peruriam[*a Lusitanis clades*
accepta. [

Q. Fabio Max[imo L. Hostilio cos. B.C. 145.
150 *M. Petron[i*
adversu[s Viriathum
Ser. Galba L. [Cotta cos. B.C. 144.
L. Metell[us con-
sulatum [
155 *qui invis[us plebi*
petitur v[
Syria va[stata
c[on]tent[
[lib(er) liii Book 53.
160 *Q. Metello [Appio Claudio cos.* B.C. 143.
Rethog[en
liberos ṭ .[
proposito a[

145. l. *Mummius.*

One column lost.

Col. vii.

occidit, a Tyresio quem devici[t gladiu]m
165 *dono accepit saguloque remi[sso am]ici-*
[ti]ae dextram dedit.
[M]etellus cos. a Lusitanis vex[atus.]
[s]igna statu⟨a⟩s tabulas Corinth[ias L. M]ummius
distribuit circa oppida et Rom[. . . . .]vit.
170 *[C]n. Caepione Q. Pompeio cos.* B.C. 141.
Q. Fabius Maximus Lusitanis ca[esis]
Viriathum fugavit.
lib(er) liiii Book 54.
Pompeius cos. a{n} Nu{a}mantinis d[evictu]s. in
175 *Scordiscis cladis accepta.*
[Q. Cae]pione [C.] Laelio Salasso c[os. B.C. 140.
Appius Claudius evicit ne duos [delectus?] annus
haberet. Ụemilius Torquatus D. S[ila]num
filium sui[m] ḍe Macedonia damn[avit, f]uneri
180 *non interfuit, eademque die [i]n do[mo] sua*
consultantibus respondit.

[C]aepio cos. indelegem Ti. Claudiam Assilium
tr⟨i⟩b(unum) pl(ebis) interpellantem profectionem
[s]uam l[i]ctores trigem reddeterbuit.
185 *[Q.] Fabius Maximus a Viriath{i}o devictus de-*
[f]ormem cum hostibus pacem fecit. Q. Occius
[. . . . . i]n insidiis Lu[[s]]sitanorum fortissime
[pugnavit. . .]inae devota est aqua An{n}io. aqua
[Marcia in Capi]tolium contra Sibyllae carmina
190 *[perducta.*]

176. l. *Sapiente* for *Salasso.* 178. l. *T. Manlius* for *Uemilius.* 182. l. *Claudium Asellum.* 184. l. . . . *ens deterruit*; cf. p. 112.

Col. viii.

Cn. Pisone C. Polli[o cos. B.C. 139.
Chaldaei urbe til[20 letters
A. Cabinius verna[e . . . . . rogationem tulit
suffragium per ta[bellam ferri. . . . . . .
195 *Servilius Caepio a[b equitibus quos periculo*
obiecerat clavo [ictus 15 letters
Audax Minurus ⟨D⟩ita[lco 17 „
Viriathum iugula[verunt.
lib(er) [lv Book 55.
200 *P. Sc[i]pione D. Iunio [cos.* B.C. 138.
interfectores Viri[athi . . . . . praemium
negatum. c[um Scipi]on[em Nasicam et
decemviru[m co]s. Licini[us et Curiatius
trib(uni) pl(ebis) in carc[er]em [c]oll[ocarent, ...
205 *precibus populi mul[t]a re[missa.* . . . . . .
trib(unus) pl(ebis) pro commodis pop[uli . . . . . .
omnib(us) lucti expiravit. co[.]un[. . . . . . *de-*
sertores in comitio virgis cae[si sestertiis
singulis venierunt.
210 *P. Africanus cum L. Cottam [accu]sar[et* . . . . . .
magnitudinem nom[inis . .] . cae[. . . . . . .
Lusitani vastati. a{n} N[uman]tin[is clades accepta.
Diodotus Tryphon An[tioc]hum [regem occi-
dit Suriague potitus e[st.]

215 *M. Aemilio C. Hostilio M[a]ṇcino [cos.* B. C. 137.
Decimus Brutus in Hispania re b[ene gesta
Oblivionis flumen planus trans[ivit.

191. l. *M. Popilli[o* for *C. Polli[o.* 192. l. *urbe et Ital[ia*; cf. p. 113. 193. l. *Gabinius.* 201. l. *interfectoribus.* 203. l. *Decimum Brutum* for *decemviru[m.* 207. l. (*ab*) *omnib*(*us*) *luctus.* 214. l. *Syriaque.* 217. l. *Oblivionem* and *primus* for *planus.*

Fr. (*a*).	Fr. (*b*).	Fr. (*c*).	Fr. (*d*).
. . . .	. . . . .	. . .	. .
] *Sullanis* [	*f*]*amili*[	235]*hif*[	]*vir*[
]*ṇeum* [	] [	] [	. . .
220]*ẹ non re*[	] [	] [	
] [	]*ṃom*[	. . .	
co]*s.*	230]V *ẹ*[		
] . *ṣamin*[	]*ị̣s me* . [		
]*avit p*[	*cu*]*stodia*[		
225] . [	] [		
. . . .	] [		
	. . . . .		

1. Cf. Livy 37. 46.

2. Cf. 37. 47.

3.]*s* is probably *Aetoli*]*s,* for it is difficult to see what chapter can be referred to if not 51; but *pax iterum data est* somewhat perverts the truth, since the embassy of the Aetolians was summarily ordered to depart under threats of punishment and no terms were offered by the Senate. A negative would seem to have been omitted.

P. Lepidinus: his correct name was P. Licinius (37. 51). *maximus* is a repetition of part of his title.

6. [. . . . .]*ant*: this word must be corrupt; *tenuit* or *retinuit* (cf. 37. 51) would be expected.

Ant[*i*]*ocho regi pax data*: cf. 37. 55.

Lusitani [*vastati*]: cf. 37. 57 and for *vastati* ll. 13, 83, and 212.

7. Two events seem to be confused here, the Rhodian embassy about Soli (ch. 56 *ad fin.*) and the foundation of Bononia (ch. 57), the latter being what is really meant, as shown by the intervening mention of the Lusitanians. *de Soli*(*s*), if more than a mere interpolation from ch. 56, probably represents *colonia* or *de Gallis.*

8–10. Cf. 37. 57; *destitit* is the word used by Livy.

12. Cf. 38. 1–9.

13. Cf. 38. 12 sqq. *in Pamphylia,* as Prof. Kornemann remarks, is not strictly accurate, the Gallograeci being defeated in Galatia.

14. Probably [*Phrygi*]*a* or [*Asia tot*]*a.*

14–17. For the story of Ortiagon's wife see 38. 24. *captian* must be *captiva*, but *uxor* is much wanted and *nobilis* is probably corrupt. Possibly *an nobilis* is due to a reminiscence of the words *Ancyram nobilem* which occur at the beginning of the chapter.

admit . . . also seems to be a corruption of a word meaning 'promised,' while *poscentem* is for *pensantem*, the word used by Livy.

17. On the right of intermarriage granted to the Campanians see Livy 38. 36, where the event is placed in B.C. 188, and is the consequence of the census ordered to be taken in B.C. 189 which is mentioned in ch. 28. The papyrus records the event mentioned in ch. 36, but puts it in the place corresponding to ch. 28. Cf. note on ll. 44–5.

18. Cf. 38. 30.

19. Cf. 38. 35.

20. Cf. 38. 40–1.

21–3. Cf. 38. 42.

24. Cf. 38. 42.

25–7. Cf. 38. 50–3. Though *die dicta* or *dicto* is necessary for the construction, it is very likely that the scribe wrote *dies dicta* or *dictus*.

27–8. Cf. 38. 55, 58–60.

30–1. Cf. 39. 2.

32–3. Cf. 39. 3.

33–5. Cf. 39. 6–7.

36. Cf. 39. 6.

37–41. Cf. 39. 9–19.

41–2. *His*]*pan*[*i*] *subacti*: cf. 39. 21, referring to the victory of C. Atinius.

42–3. Cf. 39. 22.

44–5. Cf. 39. 22, where the incursion of the Gauls is described. But the apparent mention of Marcellus refers to ch. 54, where it is stated that in B.C. 183 they retired to their own country, Marcellus being then consul (cf. also ch. 45). The epitomizer seems therefore to have made the same kind of mistake as in connexion with the concession to the Campanians; cf. l. 17, note.

45–7. Cf. 39. 22 *L. Scipio ludos . . . quos bello Antiochi vovisse sese dicebat ex collata ad id pecunia . . . fecit.*

48. Cf. 39. 23.

49. The defeat of the Ligurians by the two consuls occurs in 39. 32, and the next event related is the elections. What]*llis accepta* refers to is not clear. Possibly *multa mi*]*llia capta* was meant (cf. 39. 32 *multa millia hominum in iis cepit*); or]*llis* may represent part of *cladis*, and *in* or *a Hispanis* may be supplied (cf. ll. 174–5 and 212), the reference being to the defeat mentioned in ch. 30. This however was soon remedied, and a mention of this campaign would have been expected to precede instead of following the allusion to the Ligurian war.

50. Cf. 39. 33.

51. Cf. 39. 41.

52–6. Cf. 39. 42. If . . . .] *Gallia* is not corrupt it is out of place, and ought to follow *quod*.

57. Cf. 39. 44.

58. Cf. 39. 45.

59–63. Cf. 39. 46.

63–4. A reference to the capture and death of Philopoemen at the hands of the Messenians probably occurred here; cf. 39. 49–50.

64. *Han*[*nibal*: a reference to his death; cf. 39. 51.

67. Cf. 39. 56.

68. Perhaps [*Hispani*] should be restored before *bellum*; cf. 40. 1.

70–1. Cf. 40. 4. Prof. Reid suggests *in mare{m}* [*f*]*ugien*[*s se dedit* (or *iecit*). Livy's phrase is *in mare sese deiecit.*

72. Cf. 40. 6–16. It is not clear whether *per patrem coactu*[in l. 73 also refers to the accusation against Demetrius or to his death by poisoning, which is described in 40. 24. *coactu*[*s* does not seem to be right on either hypothesis.

74. Cf. 40. 18.

75. Cf. 40. 29. The restoration is however rather long for the lacuna.

76. Cf. 40. 35.

77. Cf. 40. 39–41.

78–80. Cf. 40. 44 *eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio tribuno plebis quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque.*

81. Cf. 40. 45.

82. Cf. 40. 45–6. *composita inimicitia* may be supplied. After this several columns are lost, corresponding to the break between **657**. iv and v.

83. *adversus Cha*[*r*]*taginienses*: i.e. the war with Masinissa; cf. Epit. 48 ad fin. *Carthaginienses cum adversus foedus bellum Masinissae intulissent . . .*

Lusitani va[*stati*; cf. l. 212. The reference is to the treacherous attack of Sulpicius Galba (cf. l. 98), on which see Appian, *Iber.* 59–60, Orosius, iv. 21. 10, Val. Max. ix. 62, and Sueton. *Galba* 3. Epit. 48 has *Ser. Sulpicius Galba praetor male adversus Lusitanos pugnavit,* which has generally been interpreted as implying a defeat of the Romans. But, as Kornemann remarks, it is now clear that *male* means not 'unsuccessfully' but 'dishonourably.'

84. Probably *Ceth*]*ecus*, i.e. *Cethegus*; cf. l. 14 *Origiacontis* for *Ortiagontis.* The incident is not recorded elsewhere, nor is any C. Cornelius Cethegus known at this period. L. Cornelius Cethegus was one of the accusers of Galba (Epit. 49) and M. Cornelius Cethegus was consul in B.C. 160.

Decim seems to be corrupt for *Decimi* or *Decii,* and *su*[is very likely the beginning of a cognomen. What *a . ictam* (or *auctam*) in l. 85 means is obscure; Reid suggests *ancillam.* Kornemann prefers *Deci*⟨*u*⟩*m . . . ingenu*[*u*]*m,* comparing Val. Max. vi. 1. 10 *quod cum ingenuo adulescentulo stupri commercium habuisset.* The doubtful *u* after *d c* can be *i.*

87–93. 'Book 49. Consulship of L. Marcius Censorinus and M'. Manilius. The Third Punic War began. The inhabitants of Utica willingly assisted (the Romans). The Carthaginians surrendered; being ordered to transfer all their possessions to another site they returned . . .'

90. *auxiliate* is for *auxiliati* (sc. *sunt*), and *locant* perhaps conceals the object (? *Romanis*). *locant auxilium,* though in itself a possible phrase, is unlikely, for the verbs in the papyrus are uniformly in the perfect tense and generally come at the end of the sentence.

91–3. Cf. Epit. 49 *tunc cum ex auctoritate patrum iuberent* (sc. *consules*) *ut in alium locum dum a mari decem milia passuum ne minus remotum oppidum facerent, indignitate rei ad rebellandum Carthaginienses compulerunt.* For *facerent* Gronovius had conjectured *transferrent,* which seems to have been the verb employed in l. 92. The embassy of the Carthaginians mentioned in ll. 90–1 came to Rome (cf. Epit. *legati triginta Romam venerunt per quos se Carthaginienses dederunt*); but the demand to evacuate Carthage was made by the consuls after reaching Africa, and if *redierunt* refers to the return of the ambassadors to Carthage, the statement of the papyrus is inaccurate. It is more likely that

redierunt refers to the renewal of the war. *m* after *tra[nsferr]e* may well be a mistake for *in*. The whole phrase would then be an antithesis to *in dedicionem venerunt* in l. 91.

93–5. The subject of *pepulerunt* must be the Carthaginians, since the siege began with the repulse of the Romans. Lines 94–5 refer to the distinction gained by Scipio Aemilianus in the early engagements; cf. Epit. 49 and Appian, *Pun.* 98–9.

95–7. This refers to the occasion on which Scipio saved the Roman army at Nepheris; cf. Epit. and Appian, *Pun.* 102–3.

97–8. Who this Charidemus was is unknown. *poe[* is possibly *poe[tam.*

98–100. Cf. Epit., where the prosecution of Galba is described more fully. In l. 99 either *product[us* agreeing with Galba, or *product[i* agreeing with *fili* may be read.

101. Unless *Philippi* is an error for *Persei*, Reid is probably right in correcting *]tii se Philippi* to *Per]sei se Philippum*; cf. Epit. *Persei se filium ferens et mutato nomine Philippus vocatus . . . . totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incolentium aut armis occupavit.*

103–5. The Epitome of Book 49 ends with the description of the revolt of Macedonia, but *carminibus* in l. 105 strongly suggests that this passage refers to the celebration of the games of Dis at Terentum in accordance with the Sibylline books, a fact which is mentioned near the beginning of Epit. 49 *Diti patri ludi ad Terentum ex praecepto librorum Sibyllinorum facti, qui ante annum centesimum primo Punico bello quingentesimo et altero anno ab urbe condita facti erant.* This is confirmed by a passage in Censorinus, *De die natali* 17. 8, to which our attention was called by Kornemann and Wissowa, *de quartorum ludorum anno triplex sententia est. Antias enim et Varro et Livius relatos esse prodiderunt L. Marcio Censorino, M. Manilio consulibus post Romam conditam anno sexcentesimo quinto. at Piso Censorius et Cn. Gellius sed et Cassius Hemina qui illo tempore vivebat post annum factos tertium affirmant Cn. Cornelio Lentulo, L. Mummio Achaico consulibus, id est anno sexcentesimo octavo. in quindecim virorum autem commentariis notantur sub anno sexcentesimo vicesimo octavo Mam. Aemilio Lepido, L. Aurelio Oreste consulibus.* The restorations of ll. 103–4 are due to Wissowa, who (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 364) considers that Livy's date for the games (B.C. 149) is wrong, and that Cassius Hemina was right in assigning them to B.C. 146.

107–8. Cf. Epit. 50 *Thessalia cum et illam invadere armis atque occupare Pseudophilippus vellet per legatos Romanorum auxiliis Achaeorum defensa est.*

109. Possibly the death of Cato was referred to here, this being the only place in the papyrus where a mention of it can be inserted. That event is referred to this year by Cicero (*Brut.* 15), and cf. l. 56 where *Catone* is corrupted into *lanatone.*

110. The death of Prusias is noticed in Epit. If *Prusias* in l. 109 is right, *positus* is probably corrupt for some word meaning 'killed' (? *occisus*, cf. l. 123); but ⟨*de*⟩*positus* is just possible, for Prusias seems to have been first abandoned by his subjects (Justin 34. 4). *depono* in the sense of 'depose' is however not classical. Kornemann would retain *positus* and supply *Nicomedes* in l. 109.

110–5. The embassy which gave rise to the jest of Cato is also mentioned in the Epitome immediately after the death of Prusias, though the incident took place in Prusias' lifetime.

Line 111 is very corrupt. *si* before *sunt* must be the termination of a participle such as *missi*; but what is *pugnamenta*? *Pergamenos* is not very satisfactory since the mention of Pergamus seems unnecessary after *ad Attalum regem.* The names of the ambassadors are given only by Polybius (37. 1[h]) as Marcus Licinius (gouty), Aulus Mancinus (broken head), and Lucius Malleolon (the fool). The last name can now be corrected to Manlius, which is meant by *Manilius* in the papyrus as is shown by the cognomen *Volso* (Vulso). The Manlii Vulsones were a distinguished patrician family in

the earlier part of the republic, and members of it were consuls as late as B.C. 189 and 178. *Marco* in l. 111 is probably *M(arcus)* followed by the first part of another name which was more probably a cognomen (? *Archias*) than *Licinius*.

The first half of l. 113 seems to be corrupt.]*a* may be the termination of *test*]*a* (cf. Polybius, *l. c.* κεραμῖδος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμπεσούσης); but a participle is also required, and even if there were space for it before *test*]*a* the order of *capite* . . . . *quondam* would be awkward.

115–6. This event is omitted in the Epitome. Should *deprehensi* be corrected to *deprehensus*, and some word like *repuls*]*am* be supplied? A certain tribune C. Scantinius Capitolinus was accused of *stuprum* by M. Claudius Marcellus, as aedile, in B.C. 222 (Val. Max. vi. 1. 7; cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Marc.* 2), but the Marcus Scantinius here must be different. As Warde Fowler remarks, it seems very unlikely that there were two Scantinii condemned for *stuprum*, one in B.C. 208, the other in B.C. 149, and that there should also be a *Lex Scantinia* on the same offence, of which the date is unknown (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 703). He therefore thinks that the present passage refers to the passing of the *Lex Scantinia*, and that]*am* is corrupt for the termination of *plebiscitum*, while *in stupro deprehensi* is for *de in stupro deprehensis*.

118–21. 'Masinissa dying in extreme old age left four children, and his kingdom was divided by Aemilianus among the elder sons.' Cf. Epit. *Masinissa Numidiae rex maior nonaginta annis decessit . . . adeo etiam in senectam viguit ut post sextum et octogesimum annum filium genuerit. inter tres liberos eius, maximum natu Micipsam, Gulussam, Mastanabalem . . . P. Scipio Aemilianus . . . partes administrandi regni divisit.* The fourth legitimate son who received no share of the kingdom was no doubt the one born when his father was 86; but other writers differ from Livy regarding the number of Masinissa's children. The death of Masinissa is placed by Mommsen at the end of B.C. 149, but according to the papyrus it took place early in B.C. 148.

121–2. Cf. Epit. *ex tribus legatis qui ad Masinissam missi fuerant, Claudius Marcellus coorta tempestate obrutus est.*

122–3. Cf. Epit. *Carthaginienses Hasdrubalem Masinissae nepotem . . . proditionis suspectum in curia occiderunt.* Appian (*Pun.* 111) in describing the death of Hasdrubal uses the equivalent of *subsellium* οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποβάθροις κατέβαλον.]*a* is very likely *fragmentum* in some form. Kornemann aptly compares Orosius, iv. 22. 8 *Asdrubal . . . subselliorum fragmentis . . . occisus est.*

123–4. Cf. Epit. *P. Scipio Aemilianus cum aedilitatem peteret . . . legibus solutus et consul creatus est.*

125. The Epitome is more explicit: *M'. Manilius aliquot urbes circumpositas Carthagini expugnavit.*

126–7. Cf. Epit. *Pseudophilippus in Macedonia caeso cum exercitu P. Iuventio praetore a Q. Caecilio victus captusque est et recepta Macedonia.* Mommsen places the defeat of Juventius doubtfully in B.C. 149, and the victory of Metellus in B.C. 148. It now appears that both events took place in B.C. 148.

127–9. The burning of the *sacrarium* is not mentioned in Epit., but is explained, as Kornemann and Wissowa point out, by Obsequens 19 (78) *vasto incendio Romae cum regia quoque ureretur, sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolata exstiterunt*, upon which passage the restorations of ll. 128–9 are based. *soci* is corrupt, possibly for *Opis*.

130. The blank space between ll. 128 and 131 is barely sufficient for two intervening lines, and there is the further difficulty that the letters of the books are elsewhere placed near the middle of the line, so that the termination of the title ought to have been visible here. But since verbs are generally placed at the end of the sentence in the papyrus

inviolata or an equivalent is required for l. 129, and to suppose the omission of the title '*liber li*' and to assign ll. 131–143 to the 50th Book would introduce a serious conflict between the papyrus and the extant Epitome with regard to the arrangement of Books 50–53. If the title therefore of Book 51 was omitted, this was probably a mere accident.

132–4. This passage is very corrupt. No Appius is known in connexion with the operations at Carthage at this period. *crudelissime* suggests that *Appius* is a mistake for *Hasdrubal*, and that ll. 132–3 refer to the cruelty of Hasdrubal towards the Roman prisoners described by Appian (*Pun.* 118).

135–6. Cf. Epit. *quod legati populi Romani ab Achaeis pulsati sint Corinthi.* The Achaean praetor referred to was Critolaus.

136. The simplest correction for *subalti* is *subacti*, but no victory over the Lusitanians at this period is known. Appian (*Iber.* 60–1) passes straight from the treachery of Galba (cf. ll. 83 and 98) to the defeats of Vetilius and Plautius (cf. ll. 146–8, note). The Epitome does not mention Spanish affairs in this book, but gives an account of Viriathus' earlier successes in Book 52. If however there was really a victory over the Lusitanians in B.C. 147 the explanation may be as follows. The reverse sustained by Vetilius recorded by Appian (*Iber.* 61) is represented as the direct and immediate result of a preliminary success obtained by the Romans, but it is not unlikely that Appian has combined the events of two separate campaigns by Vetilius into one and that *Lusitani subacti* here refers to his success, while his reverse took place in the next year, B.C. 146; cf. ll. 146–8, note. The papyrus mentions only one defeat by the Lusitanians.

138. The destruction of Carthage is mentioned in the Epitome before the attack upon the embassy at Corinth, but owing to the strictly chronological system adopted by the author of the papyrus it is here correctly placed in B.C. 146.

139–43. These lines, as Kornemann and Reid suggest, probably refer to the story of the death of Hasdrubal's wife, who first threw her two children into the flames; cf. Epit. 51.

145. Cf. Epit. *Corinthon ex senatus consulto diruit.*

146. *uxore*: probably, as Kornemann remarks, this entry refers to the death of Diaeus by poison after killing his wife; cf. Pausan. vii. 16. 2–4, Zonaras ix. 86, *Auctor de vir. ill.* 60.

147–8. *a Lusitanis clades*] *accepta* (cf. l. 175) may refer to the defeats of Vetilius and C. Plautius mentioned in Epit., or to one of them; cf. note on l. 136.

150. A certain C. Petronius who was an ambassador to Attalus and Prusias in B.C. 156 is mentioned in Polyb. 32. 26, but no M. Petronius is known at this period.

151. *adversu*[*s*: this probably refers to the dispatch of the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus against Viriathus; cf. Epit. 52 *tantumque terroris is hostis intulit ut adversus eum consulari opus esset et duce et exercitu*, and note on l. 167. If the reverse mentioned in l. 148 (cf. ll. 147–8, note) refers to Vetilius, possibly the defeat of Plautius occurred in B.C. 145, instead of 146, as has been generally supposed.

153. L. Metellus is perhaps the brother of Quintus and the consul in B.C. 142; cf. l. 167, note. But the mention of *consulatum* suggests a reference to the two failures of Q. Metellus' candidature for the consulship before he obtained it for B.C. 143, and Kornemann is probably right in regarding *L.* as a mistake for *Q.* On the confusion of the two brothers cf. notes on ll. 164–6 and 167. For *invis*[*us plebi* cf. *Auct. de viris illust.* 61 *invisus plebi ob nimiam severitatem et ideo post duas repulsas consul aegre factus.*

161–3. Reid is no doubt right in connecting this passage with the story told by Valerius Maximus (v. 1. 5) of Rhoetogenes' children, to save whom Q. Metellus abandoned the siege of a town in Spain.

164–6. This passage, elucidated by Reid and Wissowa, clearly refers to the two exploits of Q. Occius (cf. l. 186) in Spain recorded by Val. Max. (iii. 2. 21), whose account

of the second is *idem Pyressum* (v. l. *Pyresum*) *nobilitate ac virtute Celtiberos omnes praestantem . . . succumbere sibi coegit; nec erubuit flagrantissimi pectoris iuvenis gladium ei suum et sagulum . . . tradere. ille vero etiam petiit ut hospitii iure inter se iuncti essent . . .* This corresponds to *a Tyresio*, &c.; *occidit* in l. 164 belongs to the story of the first exploit (the killing of a Celtiberian warrior) described in the lost column. In Val. Max. *sagulum* is coupled with *gladium*, but the order of words in ll. 164–5 indicates that *saguloque remi*[*sso* is an ablative absolute and *saguloque* is not to be altered to *sagulumque*. With regard to the name of the Celtiberian, the form *Tyresius* found in l. 164 is supported by Orosius v. 8. 1 (a reference which we owe to Dr. Greenidge), where a *Celticus princeps* called *Thyresus* is mentioned in connexion with the pacification of Spain after the fall of Numantia. Clearly the same name, and very likely the same person are meant, so that the MSS. of Val. Max. are probably wrong in giving the forms *Pyressus* or *Pyresus*. There is also a slight divergence between the papyrus and Val. Max. concerning the date of Q. Occius' achievements, which the former assigns to B.C. 142 while Val. Max. represents Q. Occius as *Q. Metello consuli legatus*, thus indicating the year B.C. 143. Since Q. Occius in any case remained in Spain until B.C. 140 (l. 186) and Q. Metellus was there in both B.C. 143 and 142 (l. 167, note) the inconsistency is trifling, but *Q. Metello consuli* may easily be a mistake for *L. Metello consuli* or *Q. Metello proconsuli*; cf. notes on ll. 153–6 and 167.

167. This fact that L. Metellus, consul in B. C. 142, went to Spain and was there defeated by the Lusitanians is new, and is the first of a series of references to the war against Viriathus which throw much light on its history. Owing to the extreme brevity of the extant Epitome of Books 53 and 54 the principal authority has hitherto been Appian, whose account of the Spanish war is preserved in a single very corrupt codex. The generally received chronology from B. C. 143–37, e. g. that of Mommsen, is as follows:—

B. C. 143. Q. Caecilius Metellus, governor of Northern Spain, is successful, but the praetor Quinctius, governor of Southern Spain, is defeated by Viriathus.

B. C. 142. Q. Metellus as proconsul continues to be successful. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, consul, who succeeded Quinctius in Southern Spain according to Appian (*Iber.* 67), invades Lusitania, but is compelled to retreat.

B.C. 141. Q. Fabius Maximus as proconsul is at first victorious, but is afterwards defeated and compelled to conclude a disgraceful peace. Q. Pompeius, consul, the new governor of Northern Spain, is also defeated.

B.C. 140. Q. Caepio, consul, the new governor of Southern Spain, invades Lusitania. (The death of Viriathus is placed in this year by e.g. Peter, *Zeittafeln*, p. 69.) Q. Pompeius remains as proconsul in Northern Spain.

B.C. 139. Viriathus is killed at the instigation of Q. Caepio, who remains in Southern Spain as proconsul. M. Popillius, consul, became governor of Northern Spain.

B. C. 138. M. Popillius, proconsul, is defeated by the Numantines. D. Junius Brutus, consul, becomes governor of Southern Spain, and in this year and B.C. 137–6 subdues the country, and is the first Roman to cross the river Oblivio.

From this chronology the papyrus has important variations after B.C. 143, of which year the account is unfortunately lost.

B.C. 142. Victory of the Lusitanians over the consul L. Metellus, who must therefore have been governor of the Southern province. The success of his brother, Q. Metellus, in the Northern province, which is mentioned in Epit. 53, was no doubt referred to in the lost portion of the account of B.C. 142.

B.C. 141. Victory of Q. Fabius Maximus over Viriathus (ll. 171–2). Defeat of Q. Pompeius (l. 174).

B.C. 140. Q. Caepio delayed in starting for his province (ll. 182–4). Q. Fabius is defeated, and concludes a disgraceful peace with Viriathus (ll. 185–6). Q. Occius distinguishes himself in an engagement with the Lusitanians, in which the Romans fell into an ambush (ll. 186–8).

B.C. 139. Death of Viriathus (ll. 197–8).

B.C. 138. Refusal of a reward to the murderers of Viriathus (ll. 201–2). Victory over the Lusitanians, and defeat by the Numantines (l. 212).

B.C. 137. D. Brutus crosses the river Oblivio (ll. 216–7).

Comparing the two arrangements, we may note that no conflict arises in connexion with events in Northern Spain, nor in B.C. 138–7 with those in Southern Spain. The death of Viriathus is assigned by the papyrus to B.C. 139, not 140, thus confirming the opinion of Mommsen; and if our conjecture in l. 147 is correct, the papyrus perhaps supports the date assigned to the defeat of Plautius. But in the years B.C. 142–0 there are marked differences between the new evidence and the received chronology. Beginning at the end, only one campaign (B.C. 139) is obtainable for the governorship of Q. Caepio instead of two (B.C. 140–39). The governorship of Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus is assigned to the years B.C. 141–0 instead of B.C. 142–1; and while the papyrus agrees with the ordinary chronology in placing his victory in B.C. 141, his defeat and the peace are assigned not to B.C. 141 but to B.C. 140. Lastly in B.C. 142 the papyrus tells us of a hitherto unknown governor of Southern Spain, the consul L. Metellus.

It will hardly be disputed that Livy's chronology of the war against Viriathus, now that more detailed information on it is obtained, carries much more weight than that of Appian or the other still inferior authorities. It remains to investigate how far in the light of the new evidence there is a real inconsistency between Livy and the other authorities, and to explain, if possible, the origin of the divergences. As to the governorship of Caepio there is no great difficulty. The events related by Appian (*Iber.* 70–1) need occupy no more than one year. The fact that Valerius Maximus (ix. 6. 4) and Eutropius (iv. 16) speak of Caepio as consul when Viriathus was assassinated, and therefore assign his principal campaign in Spain to B.C. 140 instead of B.C. 139, is of trifling importance in the face of the explanation afforded by the papyrus (ll. 182–4) of his delay in starting. Moreover, although the campaign in the summer of B.C. 140 was conducted by Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Caepio may well have arrived in Spain before the end of the year. The reason why two years have hitherto been assigned to his governorship was that he had to occupy the interval between Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus and D. Brutus, and that the former of these had been assigned to B.C. 142–1.

Nor does the transference of Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus' governorship to B.C. 141–0 produce any serious conflict with other statements. That Livy assigned these two years to him rather than B.C. 142–1 might have been guessed from the extant Epitome, for he was consul in B.C. 142, yet Epit. 53 mentions his successes as proconsul, and Epit. 54 (*ad fin.*) his defeat. But these indications that Fabius was already proconsul when he became governor of Southern Spain—a fact which is made quite clear by the papyrus—were disregarded, partly owing to the statement of Orosius (v. 4) that Fabius in his consulship (i.e. in B.C. 142) fought against Viriathus, partly owing to an inference from Appian, *Iber.* 67, where the opening words *τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοΐντῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουιλιανὸς* (*Αἰμιλιανὸς* MS.) *ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος* have in connexion with the preceding events been supposed to refer to B.C. 142. To leave for the moment the question which year Appian meant by *τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους*, his account of Fabius Servilianus' achievements accords well enough with that of Livy. It is true that the successes of Fabius in Appian's account seem to belong to the later rather than to the earlier part of his

governorship, but it is not difficult to suppose that Appian omitted to record some trifling successes such as the capture of Baccia mentioned by Orosius (*l. c.*), probably one of the *urbes* which were *expugnatae* according to Epit. 53; cf. ll. 171–2. Two campaigns are implied by Appian, as is more clearly stated by Livy; but Appian does not call Servilianus consul. Where the facts known from Livy conflict seriously with at any rate the present text of Appian is in the events which took place between the departure of Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and the arrival of Fabius Maximus Servilianus. The governorship of Aemilianus is expressly stated by Appian to have lasted two years (*Iber.* 65). Aemilianus was consul in B.C. 145, and that the years of his governorship were B.C. 145–4 is unquestionable; cf. Epit. 52 *tantumque timoris is hostis intulit ut adversus eum consulari opus esset et duce et exercitu.* The disaster to Plautius which led to sending an experienced general is, as we have said, very likely alluded to in l. 147 of the papyrus, and l. 151 may well refer to the dispatch of Aemilianus. So far as is known, Aemilianus had both Spains under his command; but who succeeded him on his departure in B.C. 143? Northern Spain at any rate seems to have fallen to the consul for B.C. 143 Q. Caecilius Metellus (cf. Val. Max. iii. 2. 21, ix. 3. 7; Appian, *Iber.* 76), and that he remained as proconsul in B.C. 142 is attested by Epit. 53; but the question who obtained Southern Spain is very complicated. From Val. Max. ix. 3. 7, where *Q. Metellus utramque Hispaniam consul prius, deinde proconsul . . . subegisset* is the reading of the MSS., it would be inferred that Metellus was governor of both Spains; but *utramque* has been altered by some editors to *provinciam* on the ground that Metellus was only governor of Northern Spain, the governorship of Southern Spain in B.C. 143 being generally assigned to Quinctius, who is supposed to have been a praetor and to have been the immediate predecessor of Fabius Servilianus on the evidence of Appian, *Iber.* 65–7. This passage, which is very corrupt, now requires a fresh examination in the light of the new evidence. After recounting the achievements of Fabius Aemilianus in B.C. 145 and B.C. 144, Appian proceeds (ed. Mendelssohn): *καὶ τάδε μὲν ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς* (*Σερουιλιανὸς* MS.) *ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοΐντου Πομπηίου* (*τοῦ*) *Αὔλου.* (*ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανὸς* MS., omitted by editors). *ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Οὐρίαθος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι καταφρονῶν Ἀρουακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βέλλους . . . ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πολεμὸν ἄλλον οἵδε ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντῖνον ἡγοῦνται . . . καὶ συνάξω καὶ τόνδε ἐς ἓν μετ' Οὐρίαθον. Οὐρίαθος μὲν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἑτέρῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων Κοΐντίῳ* (*Q. Pompeio* in a 16th century translation of Appian made from another MS., now lost) *συνεπλέκετο, καὶ . . . ἔκτεινε τῶν Κοΐντίου ἐς* (*τοὺς Κοΐντιείους* MS.) *χιλίους καὶ σημεῖα τινα ἥρπασε . . . . Κοΐντίου* (*Κιντίου* MS.) *διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου . . . τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοΐντῳ* (*Κοΐντίῳ* other editors) *μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουιλιανὸς* (*Αἰμιλιανὸς* MS.) *ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος.* From this confused and corrupt account it has been generally inferred that a praetor Quinctius succeeded Fabius Aemilianus in Southern Spain in B.C. 143, was defeated in that year and was succeeded in B.C. 142 by Q. Fabius Servilianus. We now know that in Livy's account the governor in B.C. 142 was the consul for that year, L. Metellus, and that Fabius Servilianus became governor in B.C. 141. Assuming that Livy is right, the discrepancy may be explained in two ways: either Appian has made several mistakes in his facts or the MS. is still more deeply corrupt than it has appeared to be. On the first hypothesis Quinctius or Quintus, the supposed praetor, may he retained, for owing to the loss of a column between Cols. vi and vii of the papyrus it is uncertain who in Livy's history was the governor of Southern Spain in B.C. 143. We must however assume that Appian omitted L. Metellus altogether, thus setting the chronology wrong by a year. But considering the corruptions in the proper names in Appian, *Iber.* 65–7, it is, we think, far more likely that the story of the defeat of the supposed Quinctius, who appears

nowhere else in history, is a distortion of the defeat of L. Metellus mentioned by Livy. With two brothers, Q. Metellus and L. Metellus, governing the two Spains in 142 B.C. it is not at all surprising that mistakes should arise, and if Κοΐντιος in *Iber.* 66–7 is a corruption of Λούκιος or Καικίλιος, there will be no conflict between Livy and Appian as to the predecessor of Fabius Servilianus. Dismissing therefore the supposed Quinctius, there still remains the governorship of Southern Spain for B.C. 143 to be accounted for. The passage in Appian referring to Aemilianus' successor Κοΐντου Πομπηίου Αὔλου is obviously quite corrupt. The insertion of τοῦ before Αὔλου (Schweighauser, followed by Mendelssohn) does little to mend matters. There is no point in the mention of the father's praenomen and there is clearly a confusion in the text between this person and the Κοΐντῳ Πομπηίῳ Αὔλῳ mentioned in *Iber.* 76. That Q. Pompeius was consul in B.C. 141 and succeeded Q. Metellus as governor of Northern Spain in the same year (cf. l. 174). His cognomen was Rufus, so that editors bracket Αὔλῳ in ch. 76. In any case this Quintus Pompeius cannot be the successor of Aemilianus in B.C. 143, and the best course seems to be to fall back on the statement of Valerius Maximus (ix. 3. 7, *v. sup.*) that Q. Metellus governed *utramque Hispaniam.* Seeing that Aemilianus governed both provinces for two years, there is not the least difficulty in supposing that his successor did the same for one, but that in the second year a separate governor was sent to the Southern province. On this hypothesis we would suggest that Κοΐντου Πομπηίου Αὔλου in *Iber.* 65 is corrupt for Κοΐντου Καικιλίου Μετέλλου, and that the following words ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανός, which are simply omitted by editors, really contained a reference to the brother of Q. Metellus, L. Metellus. The sentence is in that case incomplete and the lacuna may well have supplied some details about the events of B.C. 143–2 which would have made ch. 66 much more intelligible. Our conclusion therefore is that the divergence between Livy and Appian's account of the war against Viriathus is due less to mistakes on the part of Appian than to the extraordinary perversions of the proper names in the MS. of the *Iberica*, and that Appian's chronology of this war can without much difficulty be made consistent with the newly found material.

For the sake of clearness we append in parallel columns a list of the governors of Southern Spain from B.C. 145–37 as they are known from the two epitomes of Livy, compared with the list given by Mommsen. Concerning the governors of Northern Spain there is no dispute, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus holding office in B.C. 145–4, Q. Caecilius Metellus in B.C. 143–2, Q. Pompeius Rufus in B.C. 141–0, and M. Popillius Laenas in B.C. 139–8:—

B.C.	Livy.	Mommsen.
145–4	Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus.	Q. Fab. Max. Aemilianus.
143	(Q. Caecilius Metellus cons.?)	Quinctius praetor.
142	L. Caecilius Metellus cons.	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus cons.
141	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus proc.	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus proc.
140	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus proc. (Later Q. Servilius Caepio cons.)	Q. Servilius Caepio cons.
139	Q. Servilius Caepio proc.	Q. Servilius Caepio proc.
138	D. Iunius Brutus cons.	D. Iunius Brutus cons.

168–9. Epit. mentions the triumph of Mummius at the end of Book 52, *L. Mummius de Achaeis triumphavit, signa aerea marmoreaque et tabulas pictas in triumpho tulit.* Epit. 53 begins with a mention of Appius Claudius, consul in B.C. 143; hence the triumph of Mummius has naturally been assigned to B.C. 145, the year after the destruction of Corinth.

The distribution of the works of art mentioned by the papyrus is to be connected, as Kornemann remarks, not with Mummius' triumph, which can hardly have taken place so late as B.C. 142, but with his censorship which occurred in that year. By *oppida* are meant the country towns of Italy, and perhaps of the provinces as well.

171–2. On the victory of Q. Fabius (Maximus Servilianus) cf. Epit. 53 *a Q. Fabio proconsule pars magna Lusitaniae expugnatis aliquot urbibus recepta est*, and, for the chronology, l. 167, note.

174. This defeat of Q. Pompeius by the Numantines agrees with the received chronology; cf. Epit. 54 *ad init.* and l. 167, note. For *d*[*evictu*]*s* cf. l. 185.

175. The defeat of the Romans by the Scordisci, a Pannonian tribe, is a new fact. The Roman commander may have been the other consul, Gn. Caepio.

176. The corruption of *Sapiente* into *Salasso* seems to be due to a reminiscence of the campaign of Appius Claudius against the Salassi in B.C. 143; cf. Epit. 53.

177–8. What was this obviously important measure due to Appius Claudius, one of the most striking figures at this period? The papyrus fails us at the most critical point, and in the absence of any other reference to this reform, we are reduced to conjectures. We have adopted in l. 177 *duos* [*delectus*], a suggestion of Mr. Warde Fowler based on *duo s*[*tipendia*] proposed by Dr. Greenidge. The old Roman system of a single annual levy in which the soldiers swore allegiance to a general for a single campaign could not survive the growth of Rome as a world-city, and though the successive modifications which were introduced in the later period of the Republic cannot be clearly traced, it is in itself likely enough that the wars of the third and second centuries B.C. had led to the occasional or frequent holding of levies twice instead of once in the year. Such an attempt to frustrate the constant demands of the generals as we have attributed to Appius Claudius does not seem improbable, and may even be connected with the refusal of the senate a few years later to send Scipio the reinforcements which he asked for at Numantia.

178–81. Cf. Epit. 54, where the incident of the condemnation of Silanus by his father is related more fully.

182–4. These lines are very corrupt, and in the absence of any parallel account of the incident it is difficult to restore them in entirety. So much is clear that the consul Q. Caepio's departure for Spain was delayed by the interpellation of a tribune, but that Caepio successfully overcame the obstacle. It was doubtless owing to this episode that Caepio arrived in Spain late in the year after the defeat of Fabius Maximus (ll. 185–6); cf. l. 167, note. *Assilium* is for *Asellum*; cf. Gell. 3. 4, where a tribune called Claudius Asellus is mentioned as having accused the younger Scipio Africanus *postquam de Poenis triumphaverat censorque fuerat.* Since Scipio was censor in B.C. 142 (*Fast. Capitol.*), B.C. 140 is very suitable as the year of Asellus' tribunate. *reddeterbuit* is probably for *deterruit*, and if *l*[*i*]*ctores* is right *trigem* probably represents a participle ending in *ens*, e.g. *adhibens.* Omitting *indelegem*, which is hopeless, the passage may be restored thus: *Quintus Caepio consul . . . Tiberium Claudium Asellum tribunum plebis interpellantem profectionem suam lictores . . . ens deterruit.* What form the interpellation took is not clear. Did the tribune veto the Lex Curiata conferring imperium upon the consul? Possibly, as Greenidge suggests, he tried to prevent the consul from taking out his troops, as in Sall. *Jug.* 39 *consul impeditus a tribunis plebis ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret.* From the mention of the lictors it seems that Caepio actually ventured to retaliate by using force of some kind.

185–6. On the date of Fabius' defeat see l. 167, note.

186–7. Valerius Maximus (iii. 2. 21) relates two exploits of Q. Occius; cf. ll. 164–6, note. The present incident is one of the *reliqua eius opera* which Valerius Maximus passes over.

188–90. A verb such as *pugnavit* is wanted at the beginning of l. 188, and there is then not room for more than two or three letters before]*inae*. Probably *devota est* is to be connected with *aqua Anio* (cf. ll. 111 and 116, where the verb does not come at the end of the sentence), and *aqua Marcia* begins a fresh sentence. On the repair of the *aqua Anio* and the construction of the *aqua Marcia* see Frontinus, *De Aquaeductibus* i. 7. He there states that in B.C. 144 the praetor Marcius Rex was commissioned to repair the Appian and Aniensian aqueducts and to construct a new one, his praetorship being extended for a year on that account. Then follows a passage which is much corrupted in the editions of Frontinus, and which we quote from the reproduction of the best MS. in C. Herschell's edition: *eo tempore decemviri dum aliis ex causis libros Sibyllinos inspiciunt invenisse dicuntur* (space in MS.; supply *fas*) *aquam Martiam seu potius Anienem, de hoc enim constantius traditur, in Capitolium perduci, deque ea re in senatu M. Lepido pro collegio verba faciente actum Appio Claudio Q. Caecilio consulibus* (B.C. 143); *eandemque post annum tertium a Lucio Lentulo retractatam C. Laelio Q. Servilio consulibus* (B.C. 140), *sed utroque tempore vicisse gratiam Marcii Regis atque ita in Capitolium esse aquam perductam.* Frontinus' statements about the construction of the *aqua Marcia* are thus in complete accord with Livy, from whose history they were no doubt derived. But what is the meaning of *seu potius Anienem, de hoc enim constantius traditur*, and has this anything to do with the mention of the *aqua Anio* in l. 188? That passage in the papyrus is unfortunately extremely obscure. If *devota est* is correct, it must mean that the Anio aqueduct was consecrated to some deity; but *devota* does not seem the right word, and it is more likely to be corrupt, possibly for some word like *renovata* or *refecta*. The *aqua Marcia* began not far from Tibur, the water being apparently taken from a tributary of the river Anio from which the *aqua Anio* was also derived. But the two aqueducts were quite distinct, and *seu potius Anienem, de hoc enim constantius traditur* seems, as Reid remarks, to indicate that there were two interpretations of the oracle, one permitting the *aqua Anio* to be brought to the Capitol, the other the *aqua Marcia*, but the general opinion was in favour of the former interpretation; cf. the statement in l. 189 that the construction of the *aqua Marcia* was *contra Sibyllae carmina*. Since Frontinus implies that the *aqua Anio* was not carried up to the Capitol, to read in ll. 189–90 *aqua Anio* ⟨*et*⟩ *aqua Marcia in Capitolium . . . perductae* is unsatisfactory, apart from the difficulty of placing a stop after *devota est*.

192. Probably the scribe wrote *urbetilia* meaning *urbe et Italia*; cf. Val. Max. i. 3. 2 *C. Cornelius Hispallus praetor peregrinus M. Popilio Laenate Cn. Calpurnio coss. edicto Chaldaeos intra decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia iussit*, a passage no doubt based upon Livy.

193–4. On the *Lex Gabinia tabellaria* see Cic. *Legg.* iii. 35. Cicero says that it was *lata ab homine ignoto et sordido*, which confirms the present reference to Gabinius' base ancestry. What degree of relationship to the *verna* was alleged by Livy is uncertain. *verna*[*e filius* is unlikely, for the son of a slave could not be made tribune, and though two cases at least of the son of a freedman becoming tribune are known (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i. p. 460), the phrase *vernae filius* does not suggest the meaning 'son of freedman' or 'of a freedwoman,' though perhaps not incompatible with it. *verna*[*e nepos* is better, but of course some more indefinite word may have been employed. It has been generally supposed that A. Gabinius the tribune was the son of the Gabinius who held a command in Illyria under L. Anicius in B.C. 167 (Livy 45. 26); but this is quite uncertain.

195–6. As Warde Fowler suggests, it is probable that these two lines refer to the mutiny of Caepio's cavalry mentioned by Dio (Fr. 78 Boissevain), in consequence of his apportioning to them a specially dangerous operation. Caepio had to take refuge from

their violence in flight, and with this clue the passage may be restored on the lines which we have suggested. Since a nail is not a very effective weapon of attack, *clavo* may be altered to *clava*, a 'cudgel' or 'foil.' Reid well compares Oros. v. 9 *clavae ictu* (of Tiberius Gracchus' death).

197–8. The names of the murderers of Viriathus are not given in Epit., but occur in Appian, *Iber.* 74, where they agree with the papyrus, and in Diodorus exc. c. 24, where Nikorones is found instead of Minurus.

201–2. For the refusal of a reward to Viriathus' murderers cf. Dio, Fr. 80, and Eutropius, iv. 16. Appian (*Iber.* 74) mentions the bribe, but not the refusal, διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιπίωνος δώροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς. The Epitome does not mention either, but has *Viriathus a proditoribus consilio Servilii Caepionis interfectus est.* From the fact that the refusal took place in the year after Viriathus' death it clearly came from the senate; and if there is any truth in the story of Dio and Eutropius about the answer given to the murderers that the Romans did not approve of a general being killed by his own soldiers, this must have been made by the senate, not, as they state, by Caepio.

202–5. Cf. Epit. 55 *P. Nasica, cui cognomen Serapion fuit ab irridente Curiatio tribuno plebis impositum, et D. Iunio Bruto consulibus delectum habentibus in conspectu tironum res saluberrimi exempli facta est: nam C. Matienus accusatus est apud tribunos plebis quod exercitum in Hispania deseruisset, damnatusque sub furca diu virgis caesus est, et sestertio nummo veniit. tribuni plebis quia non impetrarent ut sibi denos quos vellent milites eximere liceret, consules in carcerem duci iusserunt.* The papyrus presents several new details. In the first place the condemnation of deserters (ll. 207–9) comes after the dispute with the tribunes, not before it. Besides the probable mention of Curiatius, to whom Cicero (*Legg.* iii. 9) assigns the responsibility for throwing the consuls into prison, the papyrus names another tribune, Licinius, thus justifying the plural *tribuni* in Epit. From l. 205 it appears that the imprisonment was unpopular and that the tribunes had to yield. For the use of *multa* by Livy in the general sense of 'penalty' cf. 24. 16. In l. 202 *Scipi*]*on*[*em* is very doubtful. There may have been some corruption as in the case of *Decimum Brutum* in l. 203.

205–7. (*ab*) *omnibus luctus* seems a better correction of *omnib. lucti* than *omnibus luctui*, though whether Livy would have used *luctus* is doubtful; cf. note on l. 110. These lines refer to the death in B.C. 138 of a popular tribune who 'having done much for the good of the people expired amid universal regret.' His name was given at the end of l. 205. It would be expected that this individual was important enough to be known to history, and, as Warde Fowler and Reid suggest, there may well be a connexion between ll. 205–7 and a passage in Pliny (*H. N.* xxi. 10) *florum quidem populus Romanus honorem Scipioni tantum habuit. Serapio cognominabatur propter similitudinem suarii cuiusdam negotiatoris. obierat in tribunatu plebei admodum gratus dignusque Africanorum familia, nec erat in bonis funeris impensa. asses ergo contulit populus ac funus elocavit quaque praeferebatur flores e prospectu omni sparsit.* Whether by *Serapio* Pliny meant Scipio Nasica Corculum, the consul of B.C. 162 and 155, or his son, the consul of B.C. 138, in either case the statement that he died as tribune is an extraordinary error. It is very significant that the papyrus also mentions the death of a popular tribune immediately after a mention of Scipio Nasica the younger, and, as Warde Fowler remarks, if something like *Nasicae filius* or *frater* be restored at the end of l. 205 and Pliny's *Serapio* be the same person, the difficulties in the Pliny passage would be largely reduced.

207–9. *co*[.]*un*[may be the beginning of a short sentence complete in itself. If it is connected with ll. 208–9, it probably refers to the part taken by the consuls in the punishment of the deserters. On this cf. the passage from Epit. 55 quoted in ll. 202–5, note, where only one individual, C. Matienus, is mentioned. Frontinus, however (*Strateg.*

iv. 1. 20), agrees with the papyrus, *qui exercitum deseruerant damnati, virgis caesi publice venierunt. sestertiis singulis* is equivalent to *sestertio nummo singuli.*

210–1. It is probable that these lines refer to the famous accusation of L. Aurelius Cotta by Scipio Aemilianus. This resulted in the acquittal of the accused because the judges did not wish the influence of Scipio to appear too overwhelming, if we may believe Cicero, *Pro Murena* 58 *saepe hoc maiores natu dicere audivi hanc accusatoris eximiam dignitatem plurimum L. Cottae profuisse. noluerunt sapientissimi homines qui tum rem illam iudicabant ita quemquam cadere in iudicio ut nimis adversarii viribus abiectus videretur* (cf. *Divin. in Caec.* 21), though Appian (*Bell. Civ.* i. 22) is probably right in saying that bribery was employed. (*propter*) *magnitudinem nom*[*inis* would accord very well with the *eximia dignitas* of Cicero. The objection to this interpretation is that Cicero (*Pro Mur.* and *Divin. in Caecil. locc. citt.*) says that Aemilianus had been twice consul when he brought the accusation, and the second consulship of Aemilianus was in B.C. 134 while the event recorded in the papyrus took place in B.C. 138. Against the evidence of Cicero, however, must be set the circumstance that in the earliest editions (based on the Codex Sangallensis, now lost) of the commentary of Pseudo-Asconius upon that passage in the *Divin. ad Caecil.* occurs the remark *L. Cottam P. Africanus ante secundum consulatum et censuram dicitur accusasse.* Other MSS. of Pseudo-Asconius have *post* instead of *ante*, and *post* has generally been regarded as correct, though the remark is then rather pointless since it simply repeats the statement of Cicero. But the agreement between the papyrus and one version of Pseudo-Asconius is remarkable, though it is difficult to believe that Pseudo-Asconius can be right in placing the trial before Scipio's censorship, which took place in B.C. 142. The question is further complicated by the uncertainty regarding the nature of the accusations made against Cotta and the official standing in which he had rendered himself liable to them. Was he the consul of B.C. 144 or the consul of B.C. 119 (so Jahn in his note on Cic. *Brut.* 81)? If the former, the date which the papyrus suggests for the trial, B.C. 138, is more suitable than Cicero's. If the latter, then Cicero's date is the more probable, for the younger Cotta might well have been praetor about B.C. 133–29, and his insignificance would suit the peculiar feature of the case which seems to have impressed itself upon the popular imagination.

On the whole, in spite of the evidence of Appian who connects the acquittal of Cotta with C. Gracchus' law *de iudiciis*, and the circumstance that Cicero mentions it (*Div. in Caec. l. c.*) together with the trial of Aquillius which certainly seems to have taken place after Scipio's return from Numantia, we incline to the view not only that Livy placed the trial of Cotta in B.C. 138 but that he was right in so doing. Cicero, in the *Pro Murena* passage at any rate, had a point to make which would be helped by assigning the trial to the period after Scipio's second consulship, and it is not difficult to suppose him guilty of a chronological error in a speech. Moreover, the commentary of Pseudo-Asconius seems to indicate that there were ancient doubts as to Cicero's correctness on this matter; and if Livy was right with regard to the date of the trial, L. Cotta was probably the consul of B.C. 144, who, as Valerius Maximus states (vi. 4. 2), was in that year prevented by Scipio from going to Lusitania, and against whom Scipio may well have continued to bear a grudge.

212. *Lusitani vastati*: the proceedings of D. Junius Brutus in Southern Spain are meant; cf. Epit. 55 *Iunius Brutus consul in Hispania iis qui sub Viriatho militaverant agros et oppidum dedit, quod Valentia vocatum est,* Appian, *Iber.* 71, and notes on ll. 167 and 216–7.

a N[*uman*]*tin*[*is clades accepta*: for the restoration cf. l. 175. The allusion is to the defeat of M. Popilius; cf. Epit., which is more detailed, and l. 167, note.

213–4. Cf. Epit. which is longer in its account of Antiochus' death but mentions it at the end of the book after the successes of Brutus, and omits the detail that Diodotus took possession of Syria. The year to which Antiochus' death is referred by the papyrus (B.C. 138) conflicts with the date (B.C. 143–2) recently proposed by Niese (*Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. St.* iii. p. 283), chiefly on the evidence of coins.

216–7. Cf. Epit. *D. Iunius Lusitaniam triginta urbium expugnationibus usque ad occasum et Oceanum perdomuit; et cum fluvium Oblivionem transire nollent milites ereptum signifero signum ipse transtulit, et sic ut transgrederentur persuasit.* The account of Book 55 in the papyrus probably ended here.

218–25. This fragment which was gummed on to Col. iv probably, if *Sullanis* is correct, belonged to a much later book.

226–32. This fragment was gummed on to Col. v.

669. Metrological Work.

17·5 × 15·3 *cm.*

On the recto of this papyrus are parts of two columns of an account of corn, mentioning the second = first and third = second years, i.e. of Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 285–6 and 286–7). On the verso, written in a cursive hand not more than a few years later than the writing on the recto, are parts of two columns of a series of metrological tables concerning measures of length and area. As in the contemporary metrological fragment from Oxyrhynchus (9 verso) the spelling is bad, and from the unsystematic way in which the details are arranged they seem to be private memoranda compiled from a larger treatise. Lines 1–4 deal with the σχοινίον, the measure of length usually employed in land-surveys, of which the square was the aroura. In ll. 5–8 we have a general description of cubits arranged according to the three dimensions of space; ll. 9–10 treat of the οἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχυς, a peculiar kind of cubit which differed from the three previously mentioned, and ll. 11–24 of the measurements and uses of the ξύλον. Col. ii begins with a list of measures of length in which Graeco-Egyptian and Roman names are, as would be expected at this period, mixed (ll. 26–30). There follows (ll. 30–42) a table of the sizes of these from the δάκτυλος or παλαιστής to the ἄκαινα or perhaps ἄμμα. Then begins another section describing the δάκτυλος, in the middle of which the papyrus breaks off. In both columns the lines are incomplete, and it is impossible in some cases to fill up the lacunae; but the papyrus usefully supplements the existing evidence concerning the σχοινίον and οἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχυς, and provides some interesting new information about the names and length of different kinds of πήχεις used in Egypt. The section dealing with the ξύλον, most of which can be restored with

certainty, not only shows that there were two kinds of *ξύλα* which stood to each other in the ratio of 9 : 8, but provides an important indication of the size of that much discussed measure, the *ναύβιον*, which was probably a cubic *ξύλον*; cf. note on ll. 11–20.

It is to be hoped that the whole subject of Graeco-Egyptian metrology will soon be rehandled by a new writer. The *Metrologie* of Hultsch is now antiquated, and the recent articles of the veteran metrologist in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* and *Abhand. d. kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1903: *Die Ptolemäischen Münz- und Rechnungswerte*, show an inability to appreciate the new evidence of papyri.

Col. i.

[ἔχει τὸ σχοινίον] τὸ γεωμετρικὸν ὤγδοα η,
[τὸ δὲ ὄγδοον ἔχει] πήχις ιβ, ὥστε ἔχειν τὸ
[σχοινίον τὸ γεω]μετρ[ικ]ὸν πηχῶν ϟ·
[τὸ δὲ . . . . . .]κ̣όν ἐστιν πηχῶν ρ.
5 [ὁ εὐθυμετρι]κ̣ὸς πῆχεί̣ς ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ
[μῆκος μόνον] μετρούμενος, ἐμβαδικὸς
[δὲ ὁ κατὰ μῆκο]ς καὶ πλάτος, στερεὸς δὲ ὁ κα-
[τὰ μῆκος καὶ πλ]άτος καὶ βάθος ἤται ὕψος.
[ὁ . . . . . .] . ς ⟨ο⟩ἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχις ἔ-
10 [χει ἐμβαδικοὺς πή]χ̣ι̣ς̣ ρ.
[τῷ δὲ ξύλῳ καταμ]ετρῖ[τα]ι τὰ ναύβια· τὸ μὲν βα-
[σιλικόν ἐστι π]ηχῶν γ,
[παλαιστῶν] ιη,
[δακτύλων] οβ.
15 [τὸ δὲ . . . . . .] ἐ̣στὶν πηχῶν ββ′,
[παλαιστῶν] ιϟ,
[δακτύλων] ξδ.
[ὥστ' ἔχειν τὸ σχοινίον] τὸ γεωμετρικὸν
[ξύλα βασιλικὰ] λβ,
20 [ξύλα . . . . .] λϟ.
[. . . . . τετ]ρ̣αγώνου ἔχει ξύλον α,
[. . . . .] α,
[. . . . . π]ή̣χεις γ,

[. . . . . δη]μόσιον ναυ-
25 [βι
. . . . . .

1. l. ὄγδοα. 3. l. πήχεις. 5. l. πῆχυς. 8. l. ἤτοι. 9. ἴκοπεδικος Pap. l. πῆχυς. 19. λ of λβ corr. from ο.

Col. ii.

μέτρων ἴδη ἐστὶν τ[άδε· δάκτυλος
παλεστὴς λιχ{ν}ὰς σπ[ιθαμὴ ποὺς πυγὼν
πῆχυς βῆμα ξύλον [ὀργυιὰ κάλαμος
ἄκενα ἄμμα πλέθρον [ἰούγερον στάδι-
30 ον δίαυλον μίλιον. ὀ[. . . . . .
οἱ β παλεσταὶ λιχ{ν}ά[ς, οἱ γ παλεσταὶ
σπιθαμή, οἱ δ ποὺς ᾳ[. . . . . , οἱ ε
πῆχυς λινοϋφικὸς [καὶ . . . . . ἤτοι
πυγών, οἱ ς παλεσταὶ [πῆχυς δημό-
35 σιος κὲ τεκτονικός, οἱ [ζ παλεσταὶ πῆχυς
Νιλομετρικός, οἱ η πῆχ[υς . . . . . .
οἱ ι βῆμα, βῆμα δέ ἐστι[ν ἡ διάστασις
τῶν ποδῶν. οἱ γ πήχ[εις ξύλον δη-
μόσι[ο]ν, οἱ δ ὀργυιά, ὀ[ργυιὰ δέ ἐστιν
40 ἡ διάστασις τῶν χιρῶ[ν, οἱ . πήχεις
κάλαμος, οἱ ςβ′ ἄκενα, οἱ [. . . . . .
οι εἰσὶ πήχις. [

δάκτυλος ᾧ πάντα κατ[. . . . . τού-
του μίζονα καὶ σύνμετρα [καὶ τὰ ἐλάσ-
45 σονα τούτου μεσειτεύεται [. . . . . .
ὀ . . . [.] . λ̣ι̣χ̣ν̣[.] . λ̣ι̣χ̣ν̣[. . . . . .
. . . . . .

27. l. παλαιστής: so in ll. 31, 34. 33. λινοϋφικος Pap. 35. l. καί. 37. οι ῑ Pap. 39. οργυῖα Pap. 42. πηχις· Pap.

1–20. 'The schoenium used in land-survey has 8 eighths, and the eighth has 12 cubits, so that the schoenium used in land-survey has 96 cubits, while the . . . schoenium has

100 cubits. The linear cubit is that which is measured by length alone, the plane cubit is that which is measured by length and breadth; the solid cubit is that which is measured by length and breadth and depth or height. The . . . building cubit contains 100 plane cubits. Ναύβια are measured by the ξύλον; the royal ξύλον contains 3 cubits, 18 παλαισταί, 72 δάκτυλοι, while the . . . ξύλον contains $2\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, 16 παλαισταί and 64 δάκτυλοι; so that the schoenium used in land-survey contains 32 royal ξύλα and 36 . . . ξύλα.'

31–41. '2 παλαισταί make a λιχάς, 3 παλαισταί a σπιθαμή, 4 παλαισταί an (Egyptian?) foot, 5 a cloth-weaver's cubit . . ., 6 παλαισταί a public and a carpenter's cubit, 7 πολαισταί a Nilometric cubit, 8 παλαισταί a . . . cubit, 10 παλαισταί a βῆμα, which is the distance of the outstretched feet. 3 cubits make a public ξύλον, 4 cubits an ὀργυιά, which is the distance of the outstretched hands. . . cubits make a κάλαμος, $6\frac{2}{3}$ an ἄκαινα.'

1–4. On this σχοινίον, which was unknown when Hultsch wrote his *Metrologie*, see Kenyon, P. Brit. Mus. II. p. 130, and P. Tebt. I. p. 386. The details of the papyrus exactly fit the previous evidence, which was that the σχοινίον corresponded to the ancient Egyptian measure *khet* or *khet n nuh* of 100 royal cubits, but nevertheless was divided into the series $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$ and so on like the aroura. The papyrus now shows that in surveying land the σχοινίον was sometimes treated as having 96 cubits, probably for the sake of convenient fractions, but that there was also a σχοινίον of 100 cubits. The name of the latter in l. 4 may be οἰκοπεδι[κόν. The ratio of these two σχοινία of 96 and 100 cubits corresponds, as Mr. Smyly remarks, to the ratio of 24 : 25 between two kinds of cubits in Roman times; cf. note on ll. 34–5.

9–10. The οἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχυς was supposed by A. Peyron (P. Taur. I. pp. 133–6) to be a parallelogram measuring 100 cubits by 1 cubit. His explanation, which has been accepted by all editors, is now confirmed by the papyrus, which states that an οἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχυς contained 100 square cubits. The adjective lost in the lacuna is very likely περιστ( ) which is found in P. Brit. Mus. 119 and Wilcken, *Ost.* II. 1301 before πήχεις as a measure of area. But how the abbreviation is to be resolved is uncertain. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 780) suggests περισταλτικός: περιστατικός seems to us more likely.

11–20. The restoration of this important passage, though at first sight it may seem rather hazardous, is really practically certain. It is clear from τὸ μέν in l. 11 that the figures in ll. 12–4 are contrasted with those in ll. 15–7, and since those in ll. 12 and 15 refer to πήχεις, those in ll. 13 and 16 must refer to παλαισταί, of which there were 6 in an ordinary πῆχυς (cf. ll. 34–5), and those in ll. 14 and 17 to δάκτυλοι of which 4 make a παλαιστής. This being granted, the figures in ll. 12–7 refer to a measure of length, and the substantive to be supplied with τὸ μέν cannot be ναύβιον, which is known to be a measure of cubic capacity. There is only one measure of length known to have contained 3 πήχεις, and that is the ξύλον (l. 38), and though no ξύλον of $2\frac{2}{3}$ πήχεις was known previously, the fact that in ll. 38–9 the ξύλον of 3 πήχεις is called δημόσιον indicates that, as would be expected, more than one kind was in use. If then τὸ μέν in l. 11 means a particular kind of ξύλον, some such restoration as [τῷ δὲ ξύλῳ καταμ]ετρί[τα]ι becomes necessary, and the correctness of this hypothesis is confirmed by ll. 18–20. The figure in l. 20 stands to that in l. 19 in the same proportion (9 : 8) as those in ll. 12–4 to those in ll. 15–7. τὸ γεωμετρικόν (l. 18) has already (l. 1) been applied to the σχοινίον, and l. 19 with the restoration suggested will be the corollary of l. 3. The only difficulty that arises is that the ξύλον of 3 πήχεις is in l. 11 called βα[σιλικόν while in l. 38 it is said to be δη]μόσι[ο]ν; but in view of the extent to which δημόσιος in Roman

times supplanted the Ptolemaic term βασιλικός (e. g. in connexion with τράπεζα and γεωργός; cf. **500**. 13, note), this objection is not serious. The chief interest of this section about the ξύλον lies in the light which it throws upon the size of the ναύβιον (l. 11). On that obscure cubic measure used in digging operations see P. Tebt. 5. 15, note, and P. Petrie III. From the fact that the ξύλον was the particular measure used for calculating ναύβια, it is difficult to avoid the inference that a ναύβιον was a ξύλον in length, and since there is every reason to think that its dimensions were equal, most probably a ναύβιον was a cubic ξύλον, and as there were two sizes of ξύλα so there were also two kinds of ναύβια.

21–5. The subject of these lines is obscure; but from the occurrence of τετράγωνον in l. 21 it appears that some area was under discussion. It is not unlikely that τὸ μὲν μῆκος is to be supplied at the beginning of l. 21 and [τὸ δὲ πλάτος ξύλον] in l. 22, and that the four-sided figure in question was the square face of a ναύβιον or cube measuring 3 πήχεις each way. ναύβια are probably still under discussion in l. 24.

26–30. For this list of measures of length cf. the *Tabulae Heronianae*, especially I (Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* i. pp. 182 sqq.).

29. ἄκενα: both forms ἄκενα and ἄκαινα are commonly found, but the latter is the more correct; cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 29.

30. It is probable that the list ended with μίλιον like those in *Tabulae Heronianae* III and VII. The only larger measures of length were the σχοῖνος and παρασάγγης. δ[may be the beginning of δάκτυλοι, since the following details proceed in an ascending scale, and ought to have begun with the smallest measure. But we should expect οἱ δ δάκτυλοι παλαιστής, which is much too long, and the δάκτυλος has a section devoted to it in ll. 43 sqq.

31. The size ascribed in the papyrus to the λιχάς, σπιθαμή (l. 32), πυγών (l. 34), βῆμα (l. 37), ὀργυιά (l. 39), and ἄκαινα (l. 41), agree with the statements of the *Tabulae Heronianae* and add no new facts.

32. The names given by the ancient metrologists to the ordinary foot of 4 παλαισταί to distinguish it from the Ῥωμαικός or Ἰταλικὸς πούς of $3\frac{1}{3}$ παλαισταί are βασιλικός, Πτολεμαικός, and Φιλεταιρικός; but none of these will suit. Α[ἰγύπτιος is not unlikely; the first letter is certainly α or λ, δ or μ being excluded.

33. καί might be supplied in l. 32 instead of οἱ ε, which would then follow λινοῦφικός; but no cubit smaller than the normal one of 6 παλαισταί was known previously, and it is therefore much more probable that the 'cloth-weaver's cubit' contained 5 παλαισταί than 4.

34–5. This cubit of 6 παλαισταί is the common πῆχυς, found in the *Tabulae Heronianae*, but is there also called λιθικός and ξυλοπριστικός. A πῆχυς τέλειος ξυλικὸς τεκτονικός occurs in P. Brit. Mus. 154. 7; for δημό]σιος cf. l. 38 ξύλον δη]μόσι[ο]ν and ll. 11–20, note. There was another cubit introduced into Egypt in Roman times which stood to the cubit of 6 παλαισταί in the ratio of 25 : 24 (Hultsch, *ap.* Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 753), but this does not seem to be mentioned here by the papyrus, though it is perhaps, as Mr. Smyly suggests, implied by the number, 96, of cubits in a σχοινίον in l. 3.

35–6. The title Νιλομετρικὸς πῆχυς is new, but that the cubit used in measuring the rise and fall of the Nile contained 7 παλαισταί instead of 6 was known from the inscriptions on the subject at Elephantine; cf. C. I. G. 4863. This cubit of 7 παλαισταί is that normally used in official measurements upon ancient Egyptian monuments, and Mr. Smyly thinks that it was also employed in measuring the mysterious ἀωίλια which occur in the Petrie papyri. Its usual title (not found here) was the 'royal' cubit (Hultsch, Introd. to *Script. Metrol.* p. 25, &c., is wrong on this point).

36. This cubit of 8 παλαισταί or 2 feet is frequently mentioned in the *Tabulae Heronianae*, but without any special designation. Since it was apparently introduced into Egypt by the Romans (Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* p. 42, *Metrol.* p. 618), Ῥωμαικός or Ἰταλικός is very likely to be supplied in the lacuna.

37. The βῆμα of 10 παλαισταί is the ordinary one, but βήματα of 8 and 12 παλαισταί also occur; cf. Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* pp. 194. 3 and 197. 23.

38–9. No ξύλον except that of 3 cubits was known previously; on the δημόσιον and the other ξύλον with which it was contrasted see ll. 11–20, note.

40. The κάλαμος, which was according to *Tabulae Heronianae* I an ancient Egyptian land-measure, is stated in the same table (Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* p. 183. 3) to contain $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits or 10 feet of 4 παλαισταί. This is also the size assigned in the *Tabulae Heronianae* to the ἄκαινα or ἄκενα; cf. l. 41. Hence Hultsch supposed that κάλαμος and ἄκαινα were convertible terms. But from the position occupied by the κάλαμος here between the ὀργυιά of 4 πήχεις and the ἄκαινα of $6\frac{2}{3}$, its size should be not $6\frac{2}{3}$ but something between 4 and $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits. A μέτρον τοῦ καλάμου which differs apparently from the ordinary κάλαμος occurs in a passage quoted by Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 153, but the language seems to be corrupt, and if Hultsch is right in inferring from it a κάλαμος of $1\frac{1}{3}$ cubits in length, that cannot be the κάλαμος meant here. There is more reason to connect the κάλαμος of the papyrus with the κάλαμος of $27\frac{3}{4}$ παλαισταί mentioned by Pediasmus, a Byzantine writer of the fourteenth century (Hultsch, *op. cit.* i. p. 58 and ii. p. 147). This κάλαμος would contain $4\frac{5}{8}$ cubits of 6 παλαισταί, and $4\frac{5}{8}$ would satisfy the conditions which, as we have said, the number found in l. 40 would be expected to fulfil. Assuming that this is correct, the κάλαμος of $4\frac{5}{8}$ cubits is much older than has been supposed; but there is no particular objection to this, for the information provided by ancient metrologists is extremely defective.

41–2. After the ἄκαινα, which has the customary $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, came no doubt a higher unit of measurement, very likely the ἄμμα (40 cubits), which follows the ἄκαινα in l. 29. οι εισι πηχεις may be corrupt for οἱ ⟨a figure⟩ πήχεις, followed by another unit of measurement omitted. But it is more likely to be something like τοῖ]‖οί εἰσι πήχεις (cf. **654**. 1), 'so much for cubits.'

43–5. The meaning is that the δάκτυλος being the smallest measure of length with a name, all other measures of length are referred to it as the unit; cf. *Tabulae Heronianae* I and II ἐλάχιστον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ δάκτυλος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐλάττονα μόρια καλεῖται, and III δάκτυλος πρῶτός ἐστιν ὥσπερ καὶ μονάς. Line 43 is probably to be restored κατ[αμετρεῖται τὰ τού|του, with [καὶ ᾧ in l. 44; cf. l. 11.

670-678. Poetical Fragments.

These nine miscellaneous pieces in verse do not appear to be extant, but are too fragmentary to call for detailed treatment.

670 is a strip from a short column of hexameters, written in a small sloping uncial hand of the third century. The metre proves that the part preserved is near the beginnings of the lines, but the remains are too scanty to show the subject or the quality of the poem. There is a mention of Dionysus in l. 22,

and apparently a reference to Hephaestus in l. 11. Some corrections have been made by a second hand, which also inserted the diaeresis in l. 26.

671 is from a series of epideictic epigrams, as is made clear by the heading in l. 1 τίνας ἂν εἴποι [λόγους . . . , a formula frequent in the Anthology (cf. e.g. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 126, 449, &c.). Opposite l. 3, where the epigram commences, is the abbreviation νι( )—or ιν( )—which may give the name of the poet, e.g. Nicarchus, or of the speaker. The handwriting is an irregular uncial, dating probably from the latter half of the third century.

672. A small fragment from the bottom of a column, containing the latter parts of nine lines, written in a rather irregular uncial hand of, probably, the first century. Lines 4–8 may be hexameters, but the metre of l. 9 seems to be different. There is no clue to the subject.

673 contains parts of eleven lines from the top of a column, written in well-formed sloping uncials of the common oval type, and dating most probably from the third century. In the margin at the top are the beginnings of three blurred lines of cursive, apparently mere scribblings; the writer was perhaps the person responsible for some corrections and accents in the text below. This seems to be of a lyrical character, though the majority of the verses might also be hexameters.

674, written in careful round uncials of about the latter part of the first or the beginning of the second century, is a fragment of a lyric poem, which may be by Pindar. The form ἰαρός (l. 6) is indeed not found in the traditional Pindaric dialect, but it has a parallel in σκιαρός (*Ol.* iii. 14, 18). The high stops and the accents which have been occasionally added may be by the original scribe, but there is a question of a second hand in ll. 1 and 7; cf. note *ad loc.*

675. The upper parts of two columns of a lyrical poem written in rather short lines, and evidently to be classed as a paean (cf. ll. 1 and 12). The mention of Alexandria in l. 4 is an indication of a comparatively late date, but Blass thinks that the piece may be by Callimachus, who is known to have composed μέλη of this description. The paragraphus below l. 2 may mark the commencement of a fresh strophe, but no metrical correspondence can be followed out between the two columns. The MS. is in a large uncial hand of an early type, and seems to date from about the middle of the first century.

676. This small fragment contains the ends and beginnings of lines from two columns of a tragedy, written in a sloping uncial hand of the third century. High stops occur at ll. 2, 6 and 7, and a middle stop apparently at l. 3. The correction in l. 9 and the rough breathing in l. 14 are no doubt original, and the accents may be so; but the addition of the iota adscript in l. 15 seems to be subsequent.

677 and **678** are fragments of comedies. **677**, containing the latter parts of nine lines from the bottom of a column, is written in neat round uncials which may be assigned to the latter part of the first century. **678**, from the top of a column, is in an upright and rather heavy calligraphic hand similar to **661**, and probably, like that papyrus, of the latter part of the second century. The accents seem to have been added later.

670. 15·6 × 3·7 *cm.*

]λεις τι δ αν αλλο π̣ . [
]ν δε και αυτος απ̣[
] . [. .] αυτοματος λιπεν [
]ως [. .]καζουσιν αει γε[
5]λ̣ε Ταρταρι̣ησιν αλυκτ[οπεδησι ?
]ε φιλη λουσειεν επιζ̣ω[
παν]τοθε̣ν [αμ]φιβεβηκε τ[
ως α]ρ εφη [. . . .]νης μεμ̣ν̣[
]ν̣ αστυ̣[φελι]κτον εωσ̣[
10]ν̣αδε̣λ̣[. . . .] τεκε̣ς ὕι̣[
τεχ]ν̣ηεις [και] χ̣ωλος εων . [
]ς προ[σθε π]οδων αγαθ[
]μ̣ενω[. . .]τ̣εεισκοτε . [
]υ̣μη̣[. . . .]ω̣ν σε τεος . [
15]ο κα̣ι̣ [. . .]εουσα φιλο[
]σι χωομ̣ε̣[ν . .] . και μ . [
]ν̣ αρ εισωμεσθα σιδηρ[
] γ̣αρ παραιασι τεοις . [
] ημετεροι π̣ . . υ̣τοφ[
20]ν εγ'χος . . εσχε τα̣[
]ην ϊδε . [. .] και παλ[
] και Διο̣ν̣υσος ε . [
]εμοι μη δηριν εγει̣[ρ
]ν ὕφ ημετεροις πε̣[
25]ασθαι γλυκερων επ̣[
]εως παϊς ουτος εμο̣[

6. υ of λουσ is corrected apparently by the second hand from ι.
18. The mistake corrected was the common one of writing αι for ε; the same thing has happened in l. 25.

671. Fr. (*a*) 9·6 × 7·3, Fr. (*b*) 15·5 × 8·1 *cm.*

τινας αν ειποι [λογους προς
τον υ[ι]ο̣ν̣ τ̣ου Δε̣[
ατρεκες αιγλη̣εσσα[
κ̣[. . . .]ν̣ει βασιλευς [
5 α[. . . .]α̣σ̣δυ̣σ̣ιασπ̣[
[. . . . . .] . ι̣κλειτη̣ν̣ [
[. . . . . .]νη εξ̣ησι̣[
[. . . . . .] . ς̣ και νυν ε̣[
[. . . . . .]μ̣ην̣[
[. . . . . .] . βασιλ̣[
. . . .
15 [σκη]πτρον εχει . [
χρυ̣σ̣εον αθρησαν̣[
αλλ[α] κλυοις εμο̣ς̣ οσ[

. [. . . .]τ̣τ̣ην οτι τ̣ . [
[. . . . . .]ι̣ . τ̣ον περε[
10 [.]υ̣ . [.] θεσπεσιον ε . [
[. . . . . .]ε̣νησετεκ̣[

και κουρ[ο]ι̣ς . [
ουπω πορφυρεης π̣[
20 ουπω σκηπτρ[
δηθυνεις βασιλευ κ̣[
ιμειρω σεο παιδα μα[

1–2. A name, possibly Νι( ) (cf. introd.), is to be supplied after λογους. Δο[may be read in place of Δε[in l. 2. This may be the top of the column.

14. There is a break in the papyrus at this point, and four or five lines at least are lost.

672. 8 × 5·5 *cm.*

. . . . .
]νον δο[
]φα̣ι λη̣[
]α̣μ̣η̣[
]ισιν ετιμη̣σα̣ν [
5]ι̣ Νηρηιδες
]που εδιδαχθη
]σεις ταφον αντιασε̣[
]ν· θηρ οσον εξ̣εδιδαξ̣ε[
]ω̣ν· διχα εις πολυποικιλ̣[

673. 10 × 4·7 *cm.*

]ι̣δων θερα[
]μοπατρασ̣[
]μενα γλυκ̣[
] . ιπποβοτο[
5]νομοις ολυ . [
]ν̣τος υποπ̣[
]ρ αϊονων ε̣[
π]οντιάδεσσι[
π]λοκαμοις θεαι̣ς [
10]εν[[δ]]α̣ν̣ιοκουρ[
]φ̣νετοξ̣[
. . . . .

672. 9. The high point is really over the ν and is possibly to be connected with the point between ν and θ in the line before. The double point usually indicates a change of speaker, but is also found as a mark of punctuation, e. g. in **657**.

673. 1–2. Perhaps Πιερ]ιδων θερα[πων and οβρι]μοπατρα, as Blass suggests.

4. The letter before ιπποβοτο[has been corrected.

5. The mutilated letter before the lacuna might be e. g. μ or ν; ? ολυμ[πον.

9. π]λοκαμοις is no doubt part of a compound adjective like εὐπλόκαμος or καλλιπλόκαμος.

10. The doubtful ν has been converted from ιο by a second hand, which also crossed out the δ.

674. 5·1 × 5·2 *cm.*

. . . . .

]π̣τᾱλι[
]ωνευω[. . .] . . [
]λοινον· εμμεν̣[
]ένοι Δελφοι να̣δ̣[
]ε Παρνασσου θέμε[θλα
]ο̣ις τερφθεν ιαροις [
]ά̣ματ αγ̣λαοις· ιδιοις [
·ο̣·
]ι̣ναπολλω̣[. .] . [
]ας· τοι δ αυτ[
]ορφ[. . .]κ[
]τ̣ον[

. . . . .

1. The letters of this first line are smaller than those in the lines below and differently formed, and they might be by another hand; but there is no trace of an erasure, nor can the words be an interlinear addition.

4. ιε or ισ might be read in place of α between ν and δ.

5. θέμε[θλα: cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 180 Παγγαίου θεμέθλοις. Perhaps τρέμε δ]ὲ κ.τ.λ., as Blass suggests.

7. The letters of ιδιοις are smaller than usual and have a slight slope, while elsewhere the hand is upright; they seem to have been written by the original scribe, but may be a marginal note or gloss.

8. Something like an ο enclosed between two dots (cf. e.g. **16**. ii. 4) has been written above the letter after πολλ, which is probably ω. The words may be divided]ινα πολλ . . . or]ιν Απολλ . . .

675. 11·8 × 14·5 *cm.*

Col. i.

παιαν̣ι̣ φιλοστε̣φ̣α̣[νω]
μελπ[ον]τες ω̣[. . . . .]

ιεραν̣ κ̣[α]τ̣εχων [. . . . .]
Αλεξαν[δρ]ειαν . [. . . . .]
πολιν [. . .] και βα[. . . . . .]

Col. ii.

κε[. . .] μελ̣ψ̣ο̣[. . . . . .
κελαδου παιαν̣[. . . . .
μελεσι στεψα[. . . . .
ευιερων πελα̣[νων . . .
θυμα δεδωκατ[ε . . . .

ομου π̣[. .]ωμεν̣[. . . . .]
ταις δε . [
σπονδα[
δοισυμ . [
σεβια̣[
. . . . . .

σταις εν ωδα[ι]ς̣ [. . . . .
πολυωνυμοι ιλ[. . . . .
[. . . . . .]σ̣αν δε φ[. . . . .
[. . . . . .]ουτο̣ν̣[. . . . .
. . . . . .

1. παιανι: the vestiges of the last two letters are very slight, but ι is much more probable than α.

2. There is a short blank space between μελπ[ον]τες and the letter following.

3. κ[α]τεχων is very uncertain; the letter after ν could be almost anything. π[ο]τ εχων is quite possible.

9. Probably -δοις υμν̣[.

673. 5 × 7·4 *cm.*

Col. i.

. . .
]ω̣ν̣ [
]ην·
]θ̣ετωι.
]
]
]ν·
]ο̣ν·
. . .

Col. ii.

. . .
μεν[
[[ο]]υ μέν τα̣[
/κεντροις [
αυ[.]ουμε[
εκ της π[
ὁς νιν π[
σπασας π̣[
εχθρω πα[
σφάλος δ[
παλαι̣ τετ̣[
. . .

1.]ων, if right, no doubt ended the line, but there would be room for two letters more.

8. There is a blank space before μεν[, which is possibly the name of the speaker, e.g. Μεν[ελαος. Apparently there was also a slight space between this and the preceding line.

16. σφάλος is a word of the use of which there is no other example. The root is that of σφάλλεσθαι and ἀσφαλής.

677. 8·6 × 3·9 *cm.*

. . . . .
] . σε̣ . [. . . . .] τ̣α̣δ̣[ε
]τρεχειν εκ γειτ̣[ον
]τ̣ι̣ λυπησας τυχω̣[
]τα πειθαρχουντα [
5] τροπον προσιο[ντ
] τινι λαλεις [
]ιαν Νουμηνιε [
]ε̣ρος· ειν̣εγμαι μ[
μα τ]ους δωδεκα θε̣[ους

678. 11 × 4 *cm.*

] εαν κελευη[
] ουκ ἐστιν· [
] τριωβολο[
] σου : κακον [
5] ὦ προστατ[
] αραν δυνα[
γ]λ̣ίσχρο[
]τη[
]το[
10]ι̣[
. . .

677. 6. There is a blank space in the papyrus on either side of τινι λαλεις. Probably two feet are to be supplied at the end of the line.

8. ειν̣εγμαι is apparently for ἐνήνεγμαι or ἠίνιγμαι. The doubtful γ might be ι, but that gives no word.

9. Cf. **409**. 86, &c.

678. 1–7. It appears on the whole probable that the fragment preserves the beginnings of the lines and that there is no loss on the left side till l. 7, which must have projected somewhat, owing to the column having, as often happens, a slight slope. But this is not at all certain, and what we have taken to be a paragraphus between ll. 4–5 may be a rough breathing over ω.

8. The syllable preceding τη had an acute accent.

679–684. Prose Fragments.

The following group of unidentified prose fragments corresponds to the foregoing collection of minor poetical pieces. The first, **679**, is historical, and consists of the upper parts of two columns, both unfortunately fragmentary, written in neat upright uncials of the first century B.C. Military operations are being described, and there is a mention in ll. 2–4 of some one dispatched by an Alexander in Cilicia, and of a king or kingdom in l. 42. Perhaps, then, this is a fragment from a history of the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and it may even belong to the lost work on that subject by the first Ptolemy.

680 seems also to come from some historical work, but its sense is not easy to follow. Parts of 15 lines from the top of a column are preserved, containing mentions of Cilicians, Attica and the Athenians, and Soli in Cyprus. The hand is a sloping uncial of the middle or latter part of the third century. A low stop apparently occurs in l. 3.

681 is a piece from the top of a column containing the latter parts of 15 lines from a geographical or historical treatise. A description of some Thracian tribes, among which are the Triballi and Paeonians, is given, but the passage is too mutilated for satisfactory restoration. The fragment is written in rather irregular, but not ill-formed, uncials, which may date from the second century; a high stop is used.

682. Two fragments, both probably from the same column, of which one of them forms the top. The graceful upright hand seems, like that of **699**, to be a rather early example of the oval type, and it may go back to the latter part of the second or the beginning of the third century. The common angular sign is used for filling up a short line (l. 12). The pieces are part of an oration, perhaps a lost speech of Hyperides.

683 contains the ends of lines of part of a column, with some traces of the column following, *τ*[and *τ*[, opposite ll. 16 and 19, being all that is legible. The fragment is not easy to classify; citations of previous writers are made in ll. 4 and 12–3, and a Dionysius is mentioned in l. 9. The piece is written in rather small round uncials, which may be assigned to the latter half of the second century. An angular sign is used at the end of short lines. On the verso are parts of two lines in cursive of about the time of Septimius Severus.

684, containing 23 nearly complete lines from the bottom of a column, is much more intelligible. The fragment comes from some ethical treatise, the comparatively late date of which is indicated by the occurrence of the form *προσελεύσομαι* (ll. 6 and 22) as well as by the subject, the characteristics of sovereigns and advice for intercourse with them. The piece is written on the verso of the papyrus—the recto being blank—in sloping oval uncials, probably of the middle or latter half of the third century.

679. 12·5 × 6·1 *cm.*

Col. i.	Col. ii.
. . . . . .]*ων Ελληνικων*	*τ̣ε* . [
. . . . . .]*ν τον εγ Κιλικι*	*α*[
αι απεστ]*αλμενον υπ Αλε*	*ν̣*[

ξανδρου υσ]τερον . [.] . . αν
5 . . . . . .] . του παραδοθηναι
. . . . . .]ην επιμελειαν
. . . . . .] . ας αλλα τω μη ελ
. . . . . .] την ησυχιαν ε . [.
. . . . λα]μβανοντες μη εισ
10 . . . . . .]τους τωγ καθεστω
των . . . .]ν δε διαμερισθω
σιν . . . . . .]ου στρατοπε
δο . . . . . .] . των μερι
15 letters]νται
15 . . . . . .]τινα δεσιν
. . . . . .] δοξαντων
. . . . . .]αν αποστει
λ . . . . . .] υπηρετας ε[ι]ς
. . . . . .]ην των προ
20 . . . . . ι]ππεων α[.]εκα
10 letters]πεμο . [. . .]
. . . . . .

25 [
[
[
[
[
30 [
λα[
[
τε[
γ[
35 ου
π[
σ .

α . . [.]α
ωνιη[
40 διο[
εις ην κ[
βασιλεια[

δεικνυ[
το[.]ανδ[
45 ο . [
. . .

38–45. These lines are written smaller and closer together than the rest.

680. 6·5 × 4 *cm.*

[. . . .]ων Κιλικων [
[. .]λησστο οι δε ολ[
[. .]α. μεγα τι . . [
[ε]ξελθειν φ[
5 Ατ'τικης μετ[
τους Αθηναι[ο]υς [
π αυτου τεθεισιν [
τους αναστρεψη[
δε εις Σολους του[
10 νες τους εν Κυπ[ρω
[.]αι τους δε εξο[
[.]ω υποστρεψαι [
[.] . ας επιτετριμ[
[.]εκτον υπο των [
15 [. . . . . .]λω απ[

3. τι is very doubtful; the vestiges representing τ might be taken for a double point.
14. Or υπογω.

681. 11 × 7·1 *cm.*

]τ̣αρ̣ο[. .] . [. . . . . π]ρ̣οτε
]ι̣ς̣ αυτα β̣ι̣α̣[. . . .] . . .
] . τοικ . [.] . . [.]ς· ποτ̣[. . .] .
]κρουσυμ . . τ̣ο̣ . τ̣[. .]
] και κρατηθ̣εν̣[τω]ν των
Τριβαλ]λων ο[ι] μεν̣ α̣[λ]λοι κ̣ατα
]ντες ειλον τε̣ δ[. .]ει̣
] γεγονασι τοις α . . α . ι
] πλειστοι τ[ω]ν προσπ̣ε
]ν̣των Τριβαλλ[ω]ν και
] προτερον μεν . . τ̣
] μονην την προς τον
κ]αθηκουσαν· νυν δε
τ]ων Παιονων τ̣ων α̣
] καλουμενω̣ν̣· και
. . . . .

6. If Τριβαλ]λων is right not more than six letters are missing at the beginnings of ll. 1–9 or from seven to eight in the remainder.
8. The letter between α and ι is very likely σ. Above the ο of τοις is a spot of ink which seems to be accidental.

682. *Fr.* (*a*) 8 × 2·8, *Fr.* (*b*) 5·1 × 4·7 *cm.*

Fr. (*a*) [τ]αις δημοκρ[ατιαις οι
νομοι παντ̣[ων εισι των
[ε]ν τηι πολε[ι κυριοι και
[υ]μων εκασ[τ . . . . . .
μο̣υς π̣ε̣ . [.] . [. . . . . .
[.]ς ουδε[12 letters
. . . . .
Fr. (*b*) . . . . .
[12 letters] δη̣μ[.
[. . . . . εισ]αγγελια[
[12 letters]γιγνε[
[10 „] τουτων [
αυτος νομον θησειν
και παυσειν τους εν
τοις δικαστηριοις ρ[αι
διως αποφευγον[τας
[.] δε δημο[. . . . . ω
[α]νδρες Α̣[θηναιοι
. . . . .

1. [τ]αις was probably preceded by εν. Mr. Smyly aptly quotes Hyperides, *Euxenip.* xxi. ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ κύριοι οἱ νόμοι ἔσονται καὶ αἱ εἰσαγγελίαι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι κρίσεις κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἰσίασιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.
8–10. Nothing need be missing at the end of these lines.
15. [ο] δε δημο[ς or Δημο[σθενης or [η] δε δημο[κρατια are possible supplements.

683. 9·3 × 4·4 *cm.*

]τα κυρ[ι]ον
]αβασης αυ
ο]νομαστον
]ε φησι τας
5] πολειτειαις
]τασαν εις τα
]μονιωι διαπρα
]ασιν οι τα πε
]τες Διονυσι
10]πλε . ησαν
]της . [.] . . κε

]εις εν τηι
τω]ν ιστοριων
]πο δε τους
15]ακατον λα
]ντα πρεσβευ
]σεν ο κοι
]α κερνα δι
]ντων κομι
20]ειναν εισ
πα]ραλαβειν
]εν

15. *ακατον* may be a complete word; cf. l. 18 *κερνα.*

684. 12 × 6·5 *cm.*

. . . . . .
. . . .]τιδοσεις ο . ν[.]ιδα[. . . . . .
. . . .]ν εργων ενος εισιν . [. . . . . .
. . . .]σων βουλονται πραγματ[. . . .
. . .]νειν εχει δε τινα και αυ[. . . .
5 . ε]νεργεστερα[ν] η τροπο . . [τι δε
χρη] μαλ[λ]ον παιδευειν του[ς] προ[σελευ
σο]μενους βασιλει η του αξιωμ[ατος
τα] δ[ια]φορα τι μεν ταρασσει [. . . .
. .] . βουσινου τι δ[ε] ευνηται [τι δε
10 . .]τη οψει υπ[.] . ον τι δε τη α[. . . .
εσ]τιν ετερον το[ι]ουτους ατ . . . [. . . .
δει] γιγνεσ[θ]αι προς τους βασιλεα[ς και

μα]λα εικοτ[ω]ς ακμαι μεν γαρ εισ[ι . . .
. . .]αυματων θαλασσιων . . . [. . . .
15 . .] . του και πυρος [ο]υδεν δε ουτω [. . . .
. ε]ι και κυμαινει και αναζε[ι ως
θυ]μος βασ[ι]λεω[ς] ατε γαρ μεγας ω[ν και
αυ]τοκρατωρ κ[α]ι παλη τη εξου[σια
χρ]ωμενος οξυς εστιν και ακατα[σχε
20 τος] και προς τε τας τειμας προχ[ειρος
προ]ς τε τας κολασεις ακωλυτος [χρη
ουν] τον προσελευσομενον τω τ[ιω
δε κ]αι τηλικωδε χ[ρ]ησθαι μεν [

5. ε]νεργεστερα[ν]: the final ν scarcely fills the available space, and another letter may be lost.

6. The second λ of μαλ[λ]ον if written would be very cramped and may have been omitted.

9. The traces of the supposed ο after] . β are rather closer than they should be

both to the *β* and to the following *υ* and perhaps do not represent a letter, and on the other hand a narrow letter may be lost between the doubtful *σ* and *ι*. *βυσ[σ]ινου . . . ευνητου* might be read, but would make no sense here. Perhaps there is some corruption.

14. *κυματων* would be expected and should no doubt be restored (cf. l. 16 *κυμαινει*); perhaps *καυματων* was written by mistake.

18. *παλη*: l. *πάλαι* or *πολλῇ*? There is room for a letter between *π* and *α*, but the *α* seems clear.

23. The final *ν* of *μεν* is rather spread out and was possibly the last letter of the line.

III. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

685. Homer, *Iliad XVII.*

12·5 × 10·5 *cm.*

This fragment, containing the ends of ll. 725–32 of the *Iliad*, from the top of a column, is of interest owing to the presence of some marginal scholia, one of which, that on l. 728 mentioning a reading of the Κοινή, is with little doubt by the original scribe, while those below were added subsequently in cursive. The MS. was a fine specimen of Greek calligraphy, being written with great care in a large, round uncial hand, very similar to that of **661** (Plate v). It is probably to be assigned, like **661**, to the latter half of the second century, a date to which the cursive adscripts opposite ll. 730–1 also point. High and middle stops (ll. 728–9) occur, and accents and breathings are used in the first scholium. There is a broad margin at the top of the column.

725 *ε]πι καπρωι*
θη]ρητηρων·
μ]εμαωτες·
πεποιθ]ως· *η κ̂ αλλ' ὁτε δή ρ'*
] *αλλος·*

730 επο]ντο
αμφι]γυοισιν· εξ ạμ[φοτερων
αυ]τους μερωṿ [.....
]λọει αντι̣ [

. . . . . .

728. The marginal note evidently refers to the Aristarchean method of writing ὅτε δή, namely ὁτεδή, and implies that the word had the Aristarchean accent in the text. Cf. Schol. A on A 493 Ἀρίσταρχος ὁτεδή ὡς δηλαδή παραλόγως ἀνεγίνωσκε, and the discussion of the question in the scholia of Ammonius, **221**. i. 1–8, where the ordinary accentuation is upheld. For the reference to the Κοινή cf. **445**.

731. The scholium appears to be an explanation of the word ἀμφιγύοισιν which it interprets in the sense of 'pointed at both ends'; cf. Apollonius' Lexicon, *s.v.* τοῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους γυῶσαι δυναμένους. After μερων something like ἄκρον ἔχουσιν must be supplied; cf. Schol. A on N 147 οἱ δὲ μεταφορικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν γυίων, ὅτι ἑκατέρωθεν ἄκρον ἔχει. The note may have been continued in a third shorter line, and there is a faint mark below the ν of μερων which (if it be ink) would suit an ε.

732. The marginal note below this line, which should refer to l. 733 σταίησαν τῶν δὲ τράπετο χρώς, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη, is obscure. The only word here of which an explanation seems at all likely to have been given is τράπετο, which in the Schol. Didymi is glossed ἠλλάσσετο ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ προσώπου; but the present note was phrased differently. The doubtful λ may be μ and four or five letters may be lost in front of it since l. 733 is not a long one. Αιαντ . [cannot be read.

686–688. Homer, *Iliad II*, *III*, and *XI*.

The three following Homeric fragments of which the text is printed below are reproduced in facsimile on Plate vii, and have a palaeographical value as practically contemporary specimens of the literary hand of the early Augustan period. **686** and **688**, from the bottom and top of a column respectively, are very similar in type, **686** being the more regular and ornamental of the two, and both have a decided resemblance to the hand of the new Pindar fragments (**659**), which is perhaps slightly older. **687**, which is also of some interest on account of the presence of two critical signs in the margin of Col. ii, shows a stiffer and more angular style of writing. No stops or other lection signs occur in any of the three pieces. We give a collation with Ludwich's text.

686. 7·3 × 5·1 *cm.* Plate VII.

. . . . . .

ii. 50 [αυταρ ο κηρυ]κεσσι λι[γυφθογγοισι

[κηρυσσειν αγ]ορην δε κα[ρηκομοωντας
[οι μεν εκηρυ]σσον τοι δ η[γειροντο
[βουλην δε πρ]ωτον μεγαθυμ[ων
[Νεστορεη παρ]α νηι Πυλοιγεν[εος
55 [τους ο γε συνκ]αλεσας πυκινη[ν
[κλυτε φιλοι θ]ειος μοι εννυπνι[ον
[αμβροσιην δι]α νυκτα μαλιστα [
[ειδος τε μεγ]εθος τε φυην τ αγ[χιστα

53. The papyrus probably read βουλην, as do the great majority of the MSS.; but the lacuna is too large to give a real clue. βουλή Ludwich, with Aristoph. and Aristarch.
54. Πυλοιγεν[εος: so Lud. with AB, &c.; Πυλην. SM, &c.
56. θ]ειος: so MSS. and Aristarch.; θεῖον Zenod.

687. 7·9 × 4·5 *cm.* PLATE VII.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
	. . . .
	> του[ς δ εγω
	αμφ[οτερων
. . . . .	αλλ ο[τε
iii. 185 αιολοπ]ωλους	σταν[των 210
]	> αμφ[ω
Σαγγαρι]οιο	αλλ ο[τε
ε]λεχθην	ητ[οι
αντιανει]ραι	παυρ[α
. . . . .	ουδ α[φαμαρτοεπης 215
	αλλ οτ[ε
	. . . .

207. There is a diple against this line in Ven. A with the note ὅτι παραλλήλως ἐξείνισα καὶ ἐφίλησα· τὸ γὰρ φιλεῖν ἐνίοτε ἀντὶ τοῦ ξενίζειν τίθησιν.
211. Ven. A has a diple periestigmene opposite this line.

688. 8·1 × 4·5 *cm.* PLATE VII.

. . . . . .
οι δ ετι καμ μεσο[ν [α]ιεν αποκτειν[ων
ας τε λεων εφο[βησε πολλοι δε πρη[νεις

πασας τη δε τ ιη αν[αφαινεται [Ατ]ρειδεω υπο [180
xi. 175 της δ εξ αυχεν εαξ[ε [αλλ] οτε δη τα[χ
πρωτον επειτα δ[ε [ιξε]σθαι τοτε [δη
ως τους Ατρειδ[ης [Ιδη]ς εν [κορυφησι
. . . .

179–80. These two lines were athetized by Aristarchus and omitted by Zenodotus; Ludwich prints them in small type.

689. Hesiod, *Scutum.*

Fr. (*a*) 9·2 × 3·6 *cm.*

Three fragments from the top of a column, containing the concluding fifteen lines of the *Scutum* of Hesiod. The text is written in round, rather heavy uncials of medium size, which appear to date from about the end of the second century. The occasional accents, &c., and the punctuation are probably due to the original scribe, as well as the corrections in ll. 475 and 480. In the collation we have made use of the edition of Rzach (1902); a couple of otherwise unrecorded variants occur.

. . . . . .
[ιππους μαστιετην ικοντο δ]ε μακλ̣[ον Ολυμπον
[υιος δ Αλκμην]ης και κυ[δα]λιμος Ιολ[αος
[Κυκνον σκυλε]υσαν[τ]ε[ς α]π ωμω̣ν [τευ]χεα καλα
[νισοντ αιψα] δ επειτα π[ολι]ν Τρηχι[νος ι]κοντο
470 [ιπποις ωκυπο]δεσσιν· ατα[ρ γ]λαυκωπ[ις] Αθηνη
[εξικετ Ουλυ]μπον τε μεγ[α]ν και δωμ[α]τα πατρος·
[Κυκνον δ αυ Κ]ηυξ θαπτεν [κ]αι λαος α[πει]ρων
[οι ρ εγγυς ναιο]ν πόλιας κλε[ι]του βασιλ[η]ος
[Ανθην Μυρμι]δονων τε πο[λι]ν κλειτη[ν] τ Ιαωλκον
475 [Αρνην τ ηδ Ελ]ικην· πολλος [δ ε]πε{ι}γερ[ετο λα]ος
[τιμωντες Κηυκ]α φιλον μ[α]καρε[σσι θεοισι]ν̣
[του δε ταφον και σ]ημ' ἀϊδε[ς ποιησεν Αναυ]ρο̣ς̣
[ομβρωι χειμερι]ωι πληθων [τως γαρ μιν Απ]ο̣λ̣λ̣ω̣ν̣

[Λητοιδης ηνωξ ο]τι ρα κλει[τας εκατομβα]ς

ι'

480 [ος τις αγοι Πυθοιδε] βιη σῡ̈λ[ασκε δοκευων

. . . . . .

466. μακλ[ον is for μακρον, a case of the common confusion of λ and ρ.

473. πόλιας: πόλιος Rzach with E, πόληας other MSS.; the papyrus reading will at least scan.

474–5. Rzach follows Goettling in regarding these two lines as a later addition. The papyrus shows that they belong to an ancient tradition. ε]πεγειρ[ετο in l. 475 is a new variant; ἠγείρετο, ἐγείρετο or ἠγείρατο MSS.

480. βίῃ σύλασκε is the ordinary reading. The scribe seems to have imagined that the verb was υλασκε; what he supposed the σ meant or why he made a mark like a sign of elision after the overwritten ι we are unable to conjecture. There is a break in the papyrus immediately below this line; the title of the book presumably followed as usual.

690, 691. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica III.*

690 13 × 5·2 *cm.*, **691** 3·3 × 3·3 *cm.*

We here group together a couple of fragments from the third book of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, but derived from two distinct MSS. The larger fragment, **690**, which is from the bottom of a column and comprises ll. 727–45, is in a third century semi-uncial hand. A variety of lection signs occur, of which the marks of elision are certainly due to the original scribe; the breathings and accents have rather the appearance of being a later addition. **691**, containing parts of ll. 908–14, is earlier in date, being written in rather heavy, but not very regular, round uncials, which may be attributed to the second century. The texts are remarkable for the confirmation of two conjectures, Porson's ναυτίλοι for ναῦται appearing in l. 745, and Stephanus' correction of μετά for κατά in l. 909. Our references to the two chief codices, the Laurentianus and the Guelferbytanus, are taken from the edition of R. Merkel (1854).

690.

. . . . . .

[Χαλκιοπη ως] ϋμ[μι

[ως ερξω μη γ]αρ μ[οι

[ηως μηδε με] δηρ[ον
730 [ει ετι σης ψυ]χης π̣[ροφερεστερον
[σων θ]ειην [ο]ι δη μοι [
[κη]δεμονες τε φιλοι κα[ι
[φη]μι κασιγνητην τε [
[ισον] επει κεινοις με τ̣[εω
735 [νη]πυτιην· ὡς αιεν [
[αλλ] ϊθι κευθε δ' ἐμη[ν
[λησο]μαι εντύνουσ[α
738 [οισ]ομαι εις Εκατης θ[ελκτηρια
740 [ως] η γ' εκ θαλαμοιο [
[αυ]τοκασιγνητης [
[αιδ]ως τε στυγερον [τε
[τοια] παρεξ οὗ πὰτρ[ος
[νυξ] μεν επειτ' επ[ι γαιαν
745 [ναυ]τίλο̣ι εις Ἑλίκην [

691.

. . . . . .
ε]ταρω[ν
δασο]μεσθα μ[ετα
910 τ]ῳ̣ι δ αυτε κακ[ωτερον
α]πονοσφι π̣[ελεσθε
πασηι]σι δ επικλ[οπος
Αισονι]δ̣[η]ν̣ [
. . . . . .

690. 730. ει ετι: the papyrus probably had the ordinary reading, which would quite fill the lacuna; ει γε τι Merkel, ει κε τι Wellauer.

733. κασιγνητην: so L; l. κασιγνητη with G, Merkel.

735. ὡς: so L (ὡς): ὡς G, Merkel.

738. The papyrus agrees with the other MSS. in omitting the line (739) cited in the scholia of L οἰσομένη ξείνῳ ὑπὲρ οὗ τόδε νεῖκος ὄρωρε, with εἴσομαι for οἴσομαι in l. 738.

745. [ναυ]τίλοι: ναῦται MSS., ναυτίλοι Porson, which restores the metre and is adopted by Merkel. ναῦται should disappear from future editions.

691. 909. μ[ετα: so Stephanus, a correction which has generally been accepted in place of the MSS. reading κατά.

692. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica IV.*

11·5 × 8·7 *cm.*

Two fragments from the bottom of a column, containing parts of ll. 77–90 of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, Book iv. The handwriting, a neat upright uncial, has a certain resemblance to that of the Thucydides papyrus (**16**, **696**), and is apparently a rather later specimen of the same type; we should assign it to the second century. Occasional accents and stops (high usually, but

a middle point apparently occurs in l. 89) are used, and may be due, like the insertion of an iota adscript in l. 90, to the original scribe.

. . . . . .

[ηρωες με]τα [τηνγε θοοις ελαασκον ερετμοις
[ουπω πε]ισματα νηος ε[π ηπειροιο περαιης
[βαλλον ο] δε κραιπνους [χερσω ποδας ηκεν Ιησων
80 [υ]ψου επ ικριόφιν· μετα [δε Φροντις τε και Αργος
[υι]ε δυω Φριξ[ου] χαμαδ[ις θορον η δ αρα τουσγε
[γου]νων [αμφο]τερηι[σι π]ερισχο[μενη προσεειπεν
[εκ] με φ[ιλοι ρυσασθε δυσα]μμορον· ως [δε και αυτους
[υμε]ας Αι[ηταο προ γαρ τ α]ναφανδα [τετυκται
85 [π]αντα μαλ ουδε τ[ι μηχ]ος ικανετ[αι αλλ επι νηι
[φε]υγωμεν πριν τόν γ[ε] θοων επιβ[ημεναι ιππων
[δω]σω δε χρυσειον εγω δέρος ευνη[σασα
[φρο]υρον οφιν· τυνη δε θεους [εν]ι σοισ[ιν εταιροις
[ξει]νε· τεων μυθων επι[ι]στο[ρας] ου[ς μοι υπεστης
ι
90 [ποι]ησαι· μηδ ένθεν εκ[αστερ]ω ορμ[ηθεισαν

80. επ: so L; ἀπ' G, Merkel.
86. τον γ[ε]: τόνδε G (Merkel), τῶνδε L; the letter before the lacuna is certainly not δ.
90. The size of the lacuna makes it pretty certain that the papyrus had the right reading ἑκαστέρῳ; ἑκατέρῳ GL. The iota adscript was probably added by the person who put in the accents, but whether he is to be identified with the original scribe is doubtful.

693. Sophocles, *Electra.*

8·6 × 3·6 *cm.*

A narrow strip from the top of a column, containing ll. 993–1007 of Sophocles' *Electra.* The MS., which is a good specimen of the oval type of uncials, was probably written in the first half of the third century. The correction in l. 1002 and the occasional lection signs, with the exception of the mark of elision in l. 993, are probably all by the original scribe. A rare variant occurs in l. 995. Our collation is derived from the Jahn-Michaelis edition of 1882.

[ετυγχ]αν' αυτη μη [κακων εσωζετ αν
[την ε]υλαβειαν [ωσπερ ουχι σωζεται
995 [ποι] γαρ ποτε βλε[ψασα τοιουτον θρασος
[αυτη θ]' οπλιζη κα[μ υπηρετειν καλεις
[ουκ ε]ισορας· γυνη [μεν ουδ ανηρ εφυς
[σθε]νεις δ ελασσον [των εναντιων χερι
[δαιμ]ων δε τοις μ[εν ευτυχης καθ ημεραν
1000 [ημι]ν δ απορρει κ[απι μηδεν ερχεται
[τις ο]υν τοιουτον α[νδρα βουλευων ελειν
[αλυ]πο ς ατης εξαπα[λλαχθησεται
[ορα κ]ακως πρασσο[ντε μη μειζω κακα
[κτησ]ωμεθ' ει τις τ̣ο[υσδ ακουσεται λογους
1005 [λυει γ]αρ ημας ο[υδεν ουδ επωφελει
[βαξιν] καλην λ[αβοντε δυσκλεως θανειν
[ου γαρ θ]α̣[ν]ειν [εχθιστον
. . . . . .

995. ποτε βλε[ψασα: so the Cod. Monacensis (Herwerden, *Anal. Crit.* p. 12): ποτ' ἐμβλέψασα L, &c. and vulg.
996. οπλιζη: so all the chief MSS. (ὁπλίζῃ); ὁπλίζει editors.
998. ελασσον: so Brunck and vulg.; ἔλαττον MSS.
1002. Perhaps αλλ υπο was originally written.

694. Theocritus, *Idyl XIII.*

14·2 × 8·4 *cm.*

A small fragment from the thirteenth *Idyl* of Theocritus, written in a good-sized upright round uncial hand of the second century, probably the earlier half of it. Numerous stops (high point), breathings, accents, &c. occur, all of which, as well as a few corrections or variants inserted above the line, seem to be due to the first hand. The text has a new variant in l. 34, and an error in l. 30, but elsewhere agrees with the MSS. Our collation is with the edition of Ziegler.

ἵκετο κὼ ταλαερ[γος
Αλκμηνας υἱος [
συν δ' α[υ]τω κατεβ[αινεν
ατις κυανεᾶν ου[χ
αλλα δ[ι]εξαεϊσε· βα[θυν
αιετο[ς] ὠ[ς] μέγα λᾶ[ιτμα
ᾱμος δ αντελλον[τι
άρνᾳ νέον βοσκο[ντι
τ[α]μος ναυτιλι[α][[ι]]ς [
ἠρώων· κο[ιλ]αν δε [
Ἐλ[λ]άσποντον ἵκο[ντο
εισω δ ὅρμον ἵκον[το
αυλακας ευρύνοντ[ι
εκβαντες δ επι θεῖ[να
[δει]ε[λ]ινο[ι]· πολλοι δ[ε
[λειμ]ῳν [σ]φ[ι]ν πα[ρεκειτο

19. κὼ : χὼ MSS.
20. Αλκμηνας : so most MSS. Ἀλκμήνης Z(iegler) following the Ambrosianus.
21. Against this line are two dashes, of which the meaning, if any, is obscure.
22–4 were rejected by Ahrens. In l. 23 δ[ι]εξαεισε is corr. to δ[ι]εξαϊξε.
25. It is not certain what was written above the initial α. The supposed η between two points (i.e. ημος for αμος) is possibly an accent and breathing.
30. ικον[το : ἔθεντο MSS., Z. ἵκοντο is a repetition from the previous line.
34. [σ]φ[ι]ν πα[ρεκειτο : γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο MSS., Z.

695. Herodotus V.

24·3 × 7·6 *cm.*

Part of chapters 104–5 of Herodotus, Book V, written in a good-sized third century uncial hand of the broad oval type. Two corrections and a breathing have been inserted by a second hand. The text offers no variants from that of Stein. On the verso, in a late third or early fourth century cursive hand, is part of a list of names of persons, with sometimes a statement of the villages to which they belonged, e. g. . . . ἀπὸ Θώλθ(εως), Ψεναμοῦν(ις) ἀπὸ Ταλαώ.

[τας Κυ]πρ̣ι̣ο̣υ̣[ς συναπι
στασθα̣ι̣ τ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ μεν δη̣ [αλ
λους ανεπεισε Α̣μ̣α̣[θου
σιους δε ο̣υ̣ β̣ο̣υλ̣[ο]με[νους
5 [[ε̣]]οι πειθεσθ̣α̣ι επολ[ιορ
κεε προσκατημεν[ος
Ονησιλος μεν νυν ε[πο
λιορκεε Αμαθουντ[α

βασιλει δε Δαρει[ω] ω̣ς
10 ε[ξα]γ̣γ̣[ε]λ̣[θ]η̣ [Σ]α̣ρ̣[δ]ι̣[ς α
λ̣[ωσας ε]μπεπρησθα[ι
υ̣π̣[ο τε] Αθ[η]ναιων [και
Ϊ[ω]νων τον δε ηγεμ[ο
να γενεσθαι της συ[λλο
15 [γη]ς ωστε ταυτα συ[νυ
φανθηναι τον Μιλ[ησι
ον Αριστα[γ]ορην π[ρωτα
μ[εν] λ[ε]γεται [α]υτον [ως
επυθετ[ο] ταυτα Ϊων[ων
20 ουδενα λο[γ]ον ποιησ[α
μενον ευ ειδοτα ω[ς ου

[τ]ο̣ι̣ γε ου κα[[π]]$^{\tau}$απροϊξ̣[ον
[ται] αποσταντες ειρ[ε
[σθ]α[ι] οιτινες ειεν οι Α [
25 [θην]αιο[ι μετα] δ̣ε̣ [πυθο
. . . . . .

22. The second α of κατα has been corrected from ο; i.e. the first hand wrote ουκ αποπροιξονται, which was altered to ου καταπροιξονται.

23. Final ς of αποσταντες was put in (by the first hand) later.

696. Thucydides IV.

Fr. (*c*) 15 × 19 *cm.*

In view of the peculiar excellence of the Oxyrhynchus Thucydides papyrus originally published in the Egypt Exploration Fund's *Archaeological Report* for 1896–7, and reprinted as P. Oxy. 16, the discovery of some more fragments of the same MS. was a welcome surprise. The new pieces comprise portions of six more columns, covering, with considerable lacunae, chapters 28 to 35 of the fourth book; and at the same time supply some of the missing beginnings of lines in the first column of the fragment originally found, which succeeded immediately.

The present part of the MS. possesses the same features which distinguished that published previously, and readers are referred to the description given in P. Oxy. I. p. 40. We see no reason for altering the date (first century A. D.) there proposed for the papyrus. We are, however, inclined to doubt whether the final ν which has been inserted occasionally in the text is after all by a hand different from that to which the other numerous corrections and *variae lectiones*

are apparently due, and which is not to be distinguished from that of the original scribe.

As before, the papyrus shows a number of small differences from the ordinary text, the most noteworthy being those in ll. 4, 13, 16, 38, 62–3 and 87. Our collation is with the text of Hude.

Fr. (*a*) Col. i. 28. 4.

. . . . . .
κ]αι
[Ιμβριους τους παροντας και] πελ

Col. ii. 29. 3.

. . . . . .
αμαρτημ[ατα ωστε προσπει
πτειν α[ν αυτους απροσδοκη
οι
5 τ·ω̄·ς η βουλ[οιντο επ εκει
νοις γαρ ειν[αι αν την επιχει
[ρη]σιν [

1 column lost.

Fr. (*b*) Col. iv. 32. 1.

. . . . . .
π]ρωτους
[φυλακας οις επεδρα]μον ευθυς
10 [διαφθειρουσιν εν τε] ταις ευναις ε̣τ̣[ι
[αναλαμβανοντ]ας ·ετι· τα οπλα
[και λαθοντες τ]ην αποβασιν οι
τας ναυς
[ομενων αυτ]ων κατα το ειω
[θος ες εφορμον της] νυκτος πλειν

15 [αμα δε εωι γιγνο]μενηι και ο
[αλλος στρατος] απεβαινεν
[εκ μεν νεων ε]βδομηκοντα
[και ολιγωι πλει]ονων παν
[τες πλην θαλαμι]ων ως εκα
20 [στοι εσκευασμε]νοι τοξοται
[δε οκτακοσιοι και πε]λτασται
. . . . . .

Fr. (*c*) Col. v. 32. 4.

. . . . . .
χωρησ]ειαν οι π[ολ]ε̣
[μιοι εσεσθαι ψειλο]ι και οι απο
[ρωτατοι] τοξ[ευμα]σι και α
25 [κο]ντιο[ις] και λιθ[ο]ις και σφεν
[δο]ναις ε[κ] πολλου [ε]χοντες αλ

Col. vii. 34. 3.

[εσ]τ[ω]τος και ουκ εχ[οντε]ς ελ
πιδα καθ οτι χ[ρ]η α[μυ]νομε
νους σωθηναι τελ[ος] δε ταυ
ματιζομενων ηδη πολ
αε[ι]
60 λων δια το εν τωι αυτωι ανα

[κη]ν οι[ς] μηδε επελθειν οιον
[τ ην] φευγον[τες] τε γαρ ε
[κρατουν] κα[ι αναχω]ρουσι^{ν} επε
. . . . . .

Col. vi. 33. 2.

χωρι]ω̣ν τ̣[ε]
[πο]τητ[ι και] υπο τη[ς πριν ε
[ρη]μιας τραχεων [ο̣ντων εν
[οι]ς οι Λακεδαιμονιοι [ο]υ[κ εδ]υ
[ναντο] διωκειν οπλα εχον
[τες χρο]νον μεν ου[ν τ]ινα
[ολιγον ο]υτω^{ς} προς αλληλους
[ηκρο]βολισαντο των δε
[Λακ]εδαιμονιων ουκετι ο
[ξεως] επεχειν ηι προσπειπτοι
[εν δυ]ν̣α̣μενων γ[νο]ντες αυ
τους ο[ι] ψειλοι βρ[α]δυ[τερους ηδη
ᾱ
οντας τωι αμυνεσθα[ι και
ωι
αυτοι τηι τε οψει τ·ου̅· θαρρ[ει]ν̣
το π[λ]ειστον ειληφ[ο]τες πολ
λαπλασιοι φαινομενοι και
[[ι]]
ξυν·ει̅·θισμενοι μαλλον μη
κετι δεινους αυτους ομοιως
σφισι^{ν} φαινεσθ[αι] οτ[ι] ουκ ευθυς
αξια της πρ[ο]σ[δ]οκια[ς ε]πε
[πονθεσαν ωσ]περ οτε πρ[ω
[τον απεβαινον] τηι γ[ν]ω̣[μηι
[δεδουλωμενοι] ως επ[ι] Λακε
[δαιμονιους] καταφρονη
[σαντες και εμ]βοη[σα]ντε[ς
[αθροοι ωρμησαν ε]π αυτου[ς
[και εβαλλον λι]θ̣ο̣[ις
. . . . . .

στρεφεσθαι συγκλησαντες
^{αν}εχωρησαν ες το εσχατον ερυ
μα της νησου ου πολυ απεχον
·/· και τους εαυτων φυλακας ως

δ^{ε} ενεδοσαν ενταυθα δη πολ
λωι ετι πλε·ῑ·ονι βοηι τεθαρ
ρηκοτες οι ψειλοι επεκειντο.

και των Λακεδαιμονιων
οσοι μεν υποχωρουντες εν
κατ[ελαμβαν]οντο απεθνη
σκον ο̣[ι δε πολ]λοι διαφευγον
τες π[ρος] το ερ[υ]μα μετα των
ταυτ[ηι] φυλακων εταξαν
το παρ[α πα]ν ως αμυνουμε
[νο]ι̣ [ηιπ]ερ ην επιμαχον [
[οι δ Αθη]ναιοι επισπο[μενοι
/ [πε]ρ[ιοδον μ]εν αυτω[ν και
κυκλ[ωσιν χωρ]ιου ι[σχυι
ουκ ειχον προσιο[ντες

δ^{ε} εξ εναντιας ωσασθ[αι επει
[ρων]το και χρ[ονον μεν
[πολυν και της ημερας το πλει]
[στον ταλαι]π[ω]ρ[ουμε]νοι αμ[φο
[τεροι υπο] τε της μαχης κ[αι
[διψης και] η[λιο]υ αντ[ει]χ[ον
[πειρωμενο]ι ο[ι μεν
. . . . . .

Col. viii (=16. Col. iii). 36. 2.

2 lines lost.
ν[ι]|οι
ον|τες
π|ως
90 ε|ξαπινης
[
[
·/. α|

ϟ λ|ωι
95 οι|
ν|οι
[
ξ|υμπτωματι
μ|εγαλω[ι]
100 μ|οπυλαις
τ|ηι
τ|ων
. . . .

4. απροσδοκη]τως: for the variant απροσδοκητοις, which is not otherwise recorded, cf. e.g. ii. 93. 4 ἀπροσδοκήτοις ἐπιπεσόντες. It may be doubted whether αὐτούς was retained with this reading or was replaced by αὐτοῖς.

5. η: the omission of iota adscript is unusual in this papyrus.

6. ειν[αι αν: this is the order of CEGMf$_2$; ἂν εἶναι ABF.

10–1. αναλαμβανοντας ετι was the original order, but ετι was subsequently inserted at the end of l. 10 and cancelled in l. 11. ἔτι ἀναλαμβάνοντας is the reading of all MSS. Hude prints κἀναλαμβάνοντας, a modification of Abresch's conjecture καὶ ἀναλαμβ.

12. It is unfortunate that the beginning of this line is lost since editors have suspected a corruption in λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν. The ordinary reading suits the size of the lacuna well enough.

13. τας ναυς, which is added above the line, is found in all MSS. It is not absolutely essential, and may be an explanatory adscript which has become incorporated into the text.

ειω[θος: ἔθος MSS. The new variant is supported by other examples in Thucydides of κατὰ or παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, e.g. in this book 17. 2, 55. 2, 67. 4.

14. [θος ες εφορμον της] is rather long for the lacuna, and possibly της was omitted.

16. απεβαινεν: ἐπέβαινον, the reading of the MSS., has been commonly changed by editors to ἀπέβαινον, an alteration which is now sanctioned by the papyrus. The singular απεβαινεν may also well be right.

22. Eleven lines are lost at the top of this column.

23. ψειλο]ι και οι: so the MSS. The papyrus gives no support to the suggested emendations (ψιλοὶ καὶ οἷοι Cobet, οἱ ψιλοὶ καί Madvig).

28. ε[κρατουν]: there would not be room for Hude's conjecture ἐκρατοῦντο.

29. Similar insertions of ν ἐφελκυστικόν occur in l. 47, 16. ii. 9, &c.

30. The original omission of χωριων τε may have been caused by the homoioarchon of χαλεποτητι, but it is noticeable that the words have not been supplied in quite their right position.

35. The addition of the ς of ουτως is parallel to the insertions of final ν; cf. note on l. 29. οὕτω MSS., Hude.

38. επεχειν: ἐπεκθεῖν MSS. επεχειν here might be supported by such a use as τὰς

ἐπὶ σφίσι ναῦς ἐπεχούσας (viii. 105. 3), but it may be a mere graphical error; επεκθειν would be more likely to become επεχειν than vice versa. The ι has been rewritten.

41. The superscribed reading, αμυνασθαι, is that of the MSS., but αμυνεσθαι is far preferable. It is noticeable that the interlinear α has a stroke above it instead of, as usual, the letter which was to be replaced.

42–3. The MSS. reading in this passage is τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλεῖστον, Dobree's conjecture πιστόν for πλεῖστον having been generally adopted by subsequent editors. It is nearly certain that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in having πλειστον, for though there is a hole at the crucial point, the distance between the letters π and ε strongly suggests that another letter had intervened. There is no trace of any correction. It may then be assumed with little chance of error that the tradition of τοῦ θαρρεῖν or θαρσεῖν τὸ πλεῖστον goes back at least to the first century A.D.; and this reading is no doubt intelligible, if not very satisfactory. The interlinear variant τωι θαρρειν, so far from helping matters, only creates fresh difficulties, and seems indeed quite impossible. It may be noted that the top of the υ of του has been rewritten (by the first hand), but no importance should be attached to this circumstance; the same thing has been done again in the case of υ of πολυ in l. 63.

45. The ι written above ει of ξυνειθισμενοι has been again cancelled.

47. σφισι MSS., H.; cf. l. 29.

59. The blank space at the end of this line has been filled up by two angular marks; elsewhere one only is usually employed for this purpose.

60. διὰ τὸ αἰεί is the MSS. reading. The ο of το has been corrected from ε (?).

61. συγκλησαντες: elsewhere in the papyrus ξυν is written.

62. ανεχωρησαν: the first syllable was added afterwards, most probably by the first hand; ἐχώρησαν MSS.

63. ου πολυ απεχον: ὃ οὐ πολὺ ἀπεῖχε MSS.

65. For the insertion of an elided ε in δε cf. l. 80, and **16**. iii. 8; δέ MSS.

δη: ἤδη MSS.

66. The alternative spelling πλεονι is that of the MSS.

τεθαρρηκοτες: so ABFG; τεθαρσηκότες H. with the other MSS.

71. διαφευγοντες: l. διαφυγόντες, with the MSS.

72. π[ρος]: ἐς MSS. The π is quite certain.

76. [οι δ Αθη]ναιοι: καὶ οἱ Ἀθ. MSS. It is just possible, though unlikely, that the papyrus had και at the end of the previous line; there is not room in l. 76 for και before οι.

80. For the inserted ε cf. l. 65, note.

86. [πειρωμενο]ι scarcely fills the lacuna, in which three or four more letters would be expected.

87–102. The papyrus here supplies some of the letters missing at the beginnings of lines at the top of the first column of **16**. The vertical strokes in the text show the line of fracture.

87–8. πιστευοντες: πιστεύσαντες MSS. The reading of the papyrus may be right.

697. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia I.*

24·4 × 12·5 *cm.*

A leaf from a codex of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, containing most of i. 6. 3–11, and a small piece of another leaf containing a few letters from ii. 1. 30, written in a neat uncial hand which is probably not much later than A. D. 200. Several corrections or variants have been added above the line, chiefly by a second and more cursive hand. The numerous stops (high, middle and low point) are for the most part due to the original scribe.

The condition in which the text of the *Cyropaedia* still remains after centuries of use as a schoolbook is deplorable. Dindorf's Oxford edition, which alone gives a serious critical apparatus, omits several of the most important MSS., and the accuracy of the collations is not to be depended on. Hug's Teubner edition is mainly based on C, a Paris MS., which is one of the best, but since Hug's apparatus is not sufficiently detailed for his silence about the readings of C to be a trustworthy argument, we are unable to infer what they are except where he actually records them. Mr. E. C. Marchant, however, whose forthcoming edition of the *Cyropaedia* may be expected to reduce the existing chaos to order, has very kindly placed at our disposal for the passage covered by the papyrus his unpublished collations of two of the chief MSS., the Bodleianus (Bib. Canon. 39, which in the *Anabasis* is generally called D, though different from Dindorf's D), and the Etonensis, which is closely related to C.

The MSS. of the *Cyropaedia* divide into two main families; one group consists of AG, which are the basis of Dindorf's edition, C, which in the early part of the *Cyropaedia* supports AG and is the basis of Hug's edition, and the Etonensis (Et.); while the other group consists of Dindorf's D and the Bodleianus (Bod.), and is supported through a large portion of the passage covered by the papyrus by Stobaeus. The character of Dindorf's R and the relation of it to the two main groups is uncertain. The papyrus on the whole supports the group represented by D, Bod. and Stobaeus, with which its readings agree against the AGC, Et., group about twice as often as vice versa, and adds a number of variants peculiar to itself. Though not of equal importance to that of the Oxyrhynchus fragment of the *Anabasis* (**463**), the text of which seems to represent the archetype from which the existing MSS. of that work are descended in two main traditions, the papyrus is of considerable interest.

Our collation is with the edition of Dindorf, supplemented occasionally by that of Hug. But the only MSS. of which the accurate collation is guaranteed

are the two for information about which we are indebted to Mr. Marchant. Fortunately these are typical and important representatives of the two main groups.

Verso.

ις

γαρ εφη ακουσας ποτε σου οτι εικοτως αν κα[ι] παρα θε — I. 6. § 3
ων πρακτικωτερος ειη· ωσπερ και παρ ανθρω[π]ων. οστις
μη ο[π]οτε εν αποροις ειη. τοτε κολακευοι· αλλ [ο]τε αριστα

ω

πρατ[τοι] τοτε μαλιστα των θεων μεμν[[οι]]το· [κα]ι των φι
5 λων δ εφησθα χρηναι ωσαυτως επιμελεισθα[ι] ουκουν νῡ — § 4

εφη ω πα[ι] δι εκεινας τας επιμελειας ηδειον μεν ερχη
π[ρ]ος τους θεους δεησομενος ελπιζεις δε μ[α]λλον τευξε
σθαι ων εαν δεη ο̣τ̣ι συνειδεναι σαυτωι δοκει[ς ου] πωποτε
αμελησας αυτων· παν̣υ μεν ουν εφη ω πατ[ε]ρ ως προς

εις

10 φιλους μοι τους θεους οντας ουτω διακειμ[α]ι̣ [[ω̣]]· τι γαρ ε — § 5
φη ω παι εκεινα μεμνησαι α ποτε εδοκει ημ[ιν]· οποσα γαρ
δηπου δεδωκασιν οι θε[οι] μαθοντας ανθρω[π]ους βελτει
[ο]ν πραττειν. η ανεπιστημονας αυτων οντ[ας]. και εργαζο
μενους μαλλον ανυτειν η αργουντας και ε[πι]μελομε
15 ν[ο]υς ασφαλεστε[ρ]ον αν διαγειν η αφυλακτο[υ]ντας τουτῶ.
[π]α[ρ]εχοντας αυτους οιους δει. ουτως ημιν εδο[κ]ει δειν και
[αιτ]ε[ι]σθαι τα αγαθα παρα των θεων· ναι μα Δι ε[φ]η ο Κυρος — § 6

σου· γ

μεμνημαι μεντοι [[σου]] τ[αυ]τα ακουσας και αρ α[να]γκη ην
π[ει]θεσθαι τωι λογωι τουτωι· και οιδα σε επιτιθεντα αυ
20 τ[ωι] ως ουδε θεμις ειη αιτεισθαι παρα των θεων ουτε
ιπ[π]ευειν μη μαθοντας ιπ̣πομαχουντας νικαν· ουτε
μ[η ε]πισταμενους τοξευειν τοξευοντας κρατειν των ε
[πιστ]αμενων τοξευειν· ουτε μη επισταμ[ε]νους κυβερ
να[ν] σωζειν ευχ[ε]σθαι ναυν κυβερνωντας· [ο]υτε μη σπει

σιτον

25 [ρον]τα[ς] γε σιτον [ε]υχεσθαι καλον αυτοις φυεσθαι· ουτε μη
φ[υλα]τ[τ]ομενου[ς] γε εν πολεμωι σωτηριαν αιτεισθαι· πα
ρ[α γαρ] τους τω[ν θ]εων θ[ε]σμους ταυτα και τα τοιαυτα πᾱ

ṭ[α ειναι] του[ς δ]ε [α]θεμιστα ευχομενους. ομο[ι]ως εφησθα
[εικο]ς ε[ι]ναι παρα θεων ατυχειν. ωσπερ και παρ ανθρωπῶ
30 [απρ]ακ[τ]ειν τους παρανομα δεομενους· εκεινων δε ε § 7
[φη] ω π̣α̣ι̣ ε̣π̣ε̣λαθου α ποτε εγω και συ ελογ[ι]ζομεθα. ως
[ικα]νο[ν] α̣ν̣ ε̣ι̣η̣ και καλον αν[δ]ρι ερ[γ]ον ει τις δυναιτο επιμε
[λη]θ̣η̣[ναι οπ]ω̣ς αυτος καλο[ς] τε καγαθος δοκ[ι]μως γενοιτ[ο]
[και] τ̣α̣ ε̣[πιτη]δεια [ο]πως αυτ[ο]ς τε και οι οικεται ικανως
35 [εχοιεν το δε] του[το]ν μεγ[αλ]ου ερ[γο]ν ου[τ]ως [ο]ντος υ̣φ̣[ι]σ̣τ̣[α
[σθαι ανθρωπ]ω[ν α]λλω[ν π]ροσ[τ]ατευ[ε]ιν ο[π]ως εξουσ[ιν
[απαντα τα επιτηδ]εια εκ[πλ]εω κ̣α̣ι̣ οπως ε[σο]νται α[παν
[τες οιους δει τουτ]ο θαυμ[ασ]τον δ[ηπου] ημ[ιν] τ̣οτε̣ [ε
[φαινετο ναι μα Δ]ι εφη [ω π]ατε[ρ μεμνημαι] κα[ι του § 8
40 [το σου λεγοντος σ]υνεδ[οκ]ει κα[ι εμοι υπερμε]γ̣ε̣[θες ει
[ναι εργον το καλως αρ]χει[ν κα]ι νυ[ν γ εφη ταυτα] μ[οι δο
[κει οταν προς αυ]το το [αρχ]ειν [σκοπων λογιζω]μ̣[αι ο
[ταν μεντοι προς αλ]λου[ς ανθρωπους ιδων κατανο
[ησω οιοι τε οντες δι]αγι[γνονται αρχοντες και οιοι οντες
45 [ανταγωνισται ημι]ν ε[σονται πανυ μοι δοκει αισχρον ει
ον[τας
[ναι τοιουτους υποπ]τη[ξαι

14 lines lost

Recto.

ιη
61 ερχη τοις παρα Κυαξαρε[[ω]] χρημασιν· εγωγε εφη ο Κυρος· § 9
ι
οισθα δε εφη οποσα αυτωι εστιν. μα τον Δι εφη ο Κυρος·
ομως δε
ου μεν δη ομως δη· τουτοις πιστευεις τοις αδηλοις· οτι
δε πολλων μεν ου δεησει πολλα δε και αλλα νυν αναγ
65 κηι δαπαναν αυτον γινωσκεις· γινωσκω εφη ο Κυρος·

κ
εαν ουν εφη αυτον επιλιπη η δαπανη και ε[[ξ̣]]ων ψευδη
ται· πως σοι εξει τα της στρατιας δηλον οτι ου καλως·

αταρ εφη ω πατερ συ ει ενοραις τινα πορον και απ εμου

αν προσ[[γιγνο]]μενον εως ετι εν φιλιαι εσμεν λεγε· ε § 10

70 *ρωτας εφη ω παι τουτο ει τις [α]ν απο σου πορος προσγε*
νοιτο· απο τινος δε μαλλον [ει]κος πορον γενεσθαι η α
π[ο] του δυναμιν ε̣χ̣ο̣ν̣τ̣[ος]· συ δε πεζην μεν δυναμιν ε
χων ενθενδε ε[ρχ]η ανθ̣ η̣ς̣ ο̣ι̣δ οτι πολλαπλασιαν αλλῃ
ουκ αν δεξαιο· [ι]ππικον δε σοι οπερ κρατιστον [το] Μηδῶ
75 *συμμαχον εσται· ποιον ουν εθνος των περιξ ου δοκεις και*
χαριζεσθαι βουλομενον υμιν υπ[η]ρετησειν· και φοβου
μενον μη τι παθη α χρη σε συν Κυαξαρει κοινηι σκοπει
σθαι μηποτ επιλιπη [[τι]] υμας ων δει υπαρχειν· και εθους
ενεκα μ[η]χανωμενον προσόδου πορον· το[δ]ε δε [παν
80 *[των μαλιστα μοι μεμνησο μηδεποτε αναμενειν το]*
ποριζεσ[θα]ι τα επιτη[δε]ια [εσ]τ αν η χρεια σε α[ναγκαση αλλ
οταν μαλιστα ευπορης τοτε προ της απορια̣ς μ[αλλον μη
χανω και γαρ τευξει μαλλον π̣α̣ρ̣ ω̣ν̣ α̣ν̣ δ̣ε̣η̣ μ̣η̣ α̣[πορειν
δοκων· και αναιτιος ε[σει] π[α]ρα τοις [σ]εαυτου στρ[ατιωταις
85 *εκ τουτου δε μαλλον [κ]α[ι] υπο α̣λ̣λ̣ω̣[ν] α̣[ιδους τευξη και ην*
τινας βουλη ευ ποιησα[ι τηι δυναμε]ι η κακω̣ς̣ μαλλον
εως αν εχης τα δεοντα οι στρατιωται υπηρετησουσι σοι
και πιστικωτατους δε λογους σαφ ισθι τοτε δυνησ̣ε̣ι̣ λ̣ε̣
γειν. οτανπερ και ενδεικνυσ[θαι μα]λ̣ιστα δ[υνη ποιειν ι
90 *κανος ων και ευ και κα[κως αλλ] ε̣φ̣η̣ ω̣ π̣[α]τ̣ε̣ρ̣ α̣[λ]λω̣[ς τε* § 11
μοι δοκεις ταυτα παντα καλως λεγειν και οτι [[ων]] [μεν
νυν λημψονται οι στρατ[ιωται ο]υ̣[δ]ε̣ι̣[ς αυτων εμοι χαριν
εισεται· ισασι γαρ εφ οις αυτους Κυαξαρης αγ[εται συμμαχους
οτι δ αν προς τοις ειρη[μ]εν[ο]ις λαμβανη τ̣[ις ταυτα και τι
95 *μη[ν ν]ομ[ιο]υ[σι] κ̣α̣[ι χαριν τουτων εικος ειδεναι τω διδον*
τι· το δ' εχοντα δ̣υ̣[ναμιν ηι εστι μεν φιλους ευ ποιουντας αντ
[ω]φ[ελ]ε̣[ι]σθα[ι] εστι δ[ε εχθρους εχ]οντα [πε]ι̣ρ̣[ασθαι τισασθαι ε
[π]ειτα αμελε[ιν] τ[ο]υ̣ π̣ο̣ρ̣ι̣[ζ]ε̣σ̣θ̣α̣ι̣ ο̣ιει τ̣ι̣ [εφη ηττον τι τουτο αι
[σ]χ̣ρον ειναι η ει τις εχων [μεν α]γρο[υς εχων δε εργατας

100 [οις αν εργαζοιτο επει]τ̣α̣ [εωη δ]η̣ τ̣η̣[ν γην αργουσαν ανω
[φελητον ειναι ως γ εμου εφη μηδεποτε αμελησοντος του]
[τα επιτηδεια τοις στρ]α̣τ̣[ιω]τ̣α̣ι̣[ς συμμηχανασθαι
[ ]
]ο̣ι̣[
105] · [
προς] σε [
]τ̣ [
. . . . . .
ολον και ταξιν [ολην εκαλει δε και ετιμα οποτε τινας ιδοι II. 1. § 30
109 και τουτο̣ [

1. εφη: so AGR, Et., Dind.; om. D, Bod., Stob. *Flor.* 48. 68.
θεων: so AG (first hand) R, Dind.; τῶν θεῶν DG (corr.), Bod., Et., Stob.
2. πρακτικωτερος: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; πραγματικώτερος Et.
3. κολακευοι: so ADG, Bod., Et., Dind.; κολακεύειν R first hand.
αριστα: τὰ ἄριστα CDGR, Bod., Et., Dind.; ἄριστα A, Stob.
4. μεμνῶτο: so AG (first hand, with ῆ above the line in a later hand), Et., Dind.; μέμνηγτο L; μεμνοῖτο corrected by the first hand to μεμνῆτο Bod.; μεμνοίωτο D; μέμνηται Stob.
5. ωσαυτως: so DR, Bod.; ὡσαύτως οὕτως AG (with dots over οὕτως), Et., Stob., Dind.
επιμελεισθα[ι]: so MSS.; ἐπιμέλεσθαι Dind.
6. δι: so D, Bod., Stob.; διά γ' AG, Dind.; διά Et.
ερχη: so MSS.; ἔρχει Dind.
7. θεους δεησομενος: so ADG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.; θεοὺς ὄντας οὕτω διακειμένους G marg. in later hand, and with οὕτως Bod. which adds ἐλπίζεις δὲ οὐ πώποτ'.
τευξεσθαι: so AGR, Bod., Et., Dind.; τεύξασθαι D.
8. εαν: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; ἄν Et.
συνειδεναι σαυτωι: so MSS., Dind.; ξυνειδέναι ἑαυτῷ Stob.
9. προς φιλους, the original reading of the papyrus, agrees with AGR, Et., Dind.; προσφιλεις, the correction, with D, Bod., Stob.
10. τους θεους ονταϛ: so D, Bod., Stob.; ὄντας τοὺς θεοὺς AGR, Et., Dind.
11. ω παι: so DR, Bod., Stob.; ὁ πατήρ AG, Dind.; ὦ παῖ ὁ πατήρ C, Et., which has ὁ above ὦ.
εκεινα μεμνησαι: so D, Bod.; μέμνησαι ἐκεῖνα AGR, Et., Stob., Dind.
οποσα γαρ δηπου: so Bod., Stob.; ὁπόσαπερ δήπου D, with dots over πο by a later hand; ὡς ὅπερ R; ὡς ἅπερ AG, Et., Dind.
12. δεδωκασιν: so MSS., Dind.; δεδώκασιν ἡμῖν Stob.
14. ανυτειν: so AG (second hand), Dind.; ανυειν D, Stob.; ἀνύττειν G (first hand) R in an erasure, Et.
ε[πι]μελομεν[ο]υϛ: so DR, Stob., Dind.; ἐπιμελουμένους AG, Et. For βελτει[ο]ν, κ.τ.λ., Bod. has καὶ ἐργαζομένους μᾶλλον ἀνύειν ἢ ἀργοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἐπιμελουμένους ἀσφαλέστερον γ' ἂν διάγειν.
15. αν: so MSS. and Stob.; om. Dind. following Stephanus.

τουτων: so MSS., Dind.; om. Stob.; *τούτων* ⟨*περὶ*⟩ Madvig followed by Hug.

16. *αυτους* (i.e. *αὐτούς*): *ἑαυτούς* D, Bod., Stob.; *οὖν τοιούτους ἑαυτούς* AGR, Dind.; *δ' οὖν τοιούτους ἑαυτούς* Et.

17. *τα αγαθα*: so D; *τἀγαθά* AGR, Et., Stob., Dind.; *τὰ ἀγαθὰ τά* Bod.

18. *τ[αυ]τα*: so D, Bod.; *τοιούτων* G; *τοιαῦτα* AR, Et., Dind. There is certainly not room for *τ[οιαυ]τα*.

ην: so D, Bod., Stob.; *με* AGR, Et., Dind.

19. *τουτωι*: so D, Bod., Stob.; om. AGR, Et., Dind.

και οιδα σε επιτιθεντα αυτ[ωι]: so D, Bod.; *καὶ οἶδα προστιθέντα αὐτῷ* Stob.; *ἐπιτιθέντα αὐτῷ* G (second hand in marg.); *καὶ γὰρ οἶδά σε λέγοντα ἀεί* AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.

20. *ουτε*: *οὕτως* corr. to *οὔτε* by second hand Bod.; *οὔτε* other MSS., Dind. Similarly with *ουτε* in l. 21.

23. *τοξευειν*: so D, Bod., Stob.; om. AGR, Et., Dind.

24. *ευχ[ε]σθαι*: so DGR, Bod., Et., Stob., Dind.; *ἔχεσθαι* A.

ναυν: so Stob.; *ναῦς* MSS., Dind.

[ο]υτε: so Stob.; *οὐδέ* MSS., Dind.

σπει[ρον]τα[ς]: so MSS., Dind.; *σπείραντας* (Stob.) is equally possible.

25. *αυτοις σιτον*: so DG (second hand), Bod., Stob. AG (first hand) R, Et. agree with the original reading of the papyrus in omitting *σιτον* (so Dind.).

ουτε: *οὐδέ* MSS., Stob., Dind.

26 *παρ[α*: so ADR, Bod., Et., Stob., Dind.; *περί* G.

27. *ταυτα και τα τοιαυτα παντ[α*: so Bod., Stob., and (with the omission of *πάντα*) D; *πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα* AGR, Et., Dind.

28. *[α]θεμιστα*: so AG (corrected) LM, Bod., Stob.; *ἀθέμιτα* DEHRG (first hand), Et., Dind.

29. *θεων*: so ADG, Stob., Dind.; *τῶν θεῶν* R, Et.

παρ: so Stob.; *παρά* MSS., Dind.

30. *παρανομα*: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; *τὰ παράνομα* Et.

δε ε[φη: so G (second hand in marg.), Bod.; *δ' ἔφη* D; *δέ* AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.

31. *α ποτε*: so ADG, Bod., Et., Dind.; *ὅποτε* R.

32. *αν*: om. MSS., Dind. After *δύναιτο* Bod. has *ἀνδρί* (sic).

33. *οπ]ως*: so D, Bod.; *ὅπως ἄν* AGR, Et., Dind.

καλο[ς] τε: *τε καλός* MSS., Dind.

δοκ[ι]μως: so ADG, Bod., Et., Dind.; om. R.

34. *τα ε[πιτη]δεια*: so MSS. here and in l. 37; *τἀπιτήδεια* Dind.

[ο]πως: so D, Bod.; om. AGR, Et., Dind.

οι: so AD, Bod., Et., Dind.; om. G.; above the line in R.

35. *ου[τ]ως [ο]ντος*: so D, Bod.; *ὄντος οὕτως* AGR, Dind.; *ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος οὕτως* Et.

υφ[ι]στ[ασθαι: so DR, Bod.; *ἐπίστασθαι* AG, Et., Dind.; *ἐφι* with dots underneath before *ἐπίστασθαι* L.

36. *εξουσ[ιν απαντα*: so D, Bod.; *ἔξουσι πάντα* AGR, Et., Dind. What reading the papyrus had is uncertain.

37. *α[παντες*: *πάντες* MSS., Dind.

38. *τοτε [εφαινετο*: *ἐφαίνετο εἶναι* MSS., Dind.

40. *σου*: so AGR, Bod., Et., Dind.; *ὅτε σου* D. It is unlikely that the papyrus had D's reading for *[ι τουτο* is rather long for the end of l. 39.

σ]υνεδ[οκ]ει: so D, Bod., Stob.; *συνεδόκει οὖν* AGR, Et., Dind.

41. *νυ[ν γ*: *γ'* is omitted by R, Et., and Stob., inserted in ADG, Bod. (so Dind.). Considerations of space make it probable that the papyrus read *γ*.

ταυτα] μ[οι δοκει: the restoration of this is uncertain. We have followed the reading

of Stobaeus *ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ*, which suits the lacuna best. *ταῦτά μοι τὰ αὐτά* AG, and, with the addition of *δοκεῖ*, CR, Et.; *ταὐτά μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα* D.

43. [*μεντοι*]: so D, Stob.; *μέντοιγε* AGR, Et., Dind. Which reading the papyrus had is uncertain.

44. [*οιοι τε*]: so D; om. *τε* RG (second hand in marg.), Dind.; *οἷοί τε ὄντες διαγίγνονται ἄρχοντες καί* is omitted by AG (first hand), Et., owing to homoioteleuton.

46. The restoration is uncertain. CR, Et. have *εἶναι τὸ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας ὑποπτῆξαι*, and so D with the omission of *τό*; *εἶναι τὸ τοιούτοις ὑποπτ.* A (so Dind.); *εἶναι τὸ τοιούτους* (apparently) *ὑποπτ.* G, *αὐτοὺς ὄντας* being added over the line by a later hand. Probably the papyrus originally had *ειναι τοιουτους υποπτηξαι, οντας* and perhaps *αυτους* being added over the line by the corrector.

61. *ερχη*: so MSS.; *ἔρχει* Dind.

Κυαξαρει, the corrected reading of the papyrus, agrees with D. CAGR agree with the reading of the first hand *Κυαξαρεω*. *Κυαξάρῃ* Bod., Dind.

εγωγε: *ἔγωγ'* Dind.

61–2. *ο Κυρος οισθα δε εφη*: *ὁ Κῦρος τί δὲ ἔφη οἶσθα* CDR, Bod., Et., and in marg. by a later hand G, Dind.; om. AG (first hand).

62. *εστιν*: *ἐστι* MSS., Dind.

63. *ομως δη*, the reading of the first hand, is clearly an error, and ought to have been erased by the corrector when he inserted *ομως δε*. *οὐ μὲν δὴ οἶσθα ὅμως δέ* D; *οὐ μὲν δὴ ὅμως δέ* AGR, Bod., Et., Dind.

πιστευεις: so most MSS., Dind.; *πιστεύειν* Bod.

64. *ου δεησει*: *σοι δεήσῃ* D, Bod.; *σοι δεήσει* CR; *δεήσει* AG, Dind.; *σοι δεήσοι* Et.

πολλα δε και αλλα νυν αναγκη δαπαναν αυτον: om. *αὐτόν* AGR, Et., Dind.; *πολλὰ δὲ ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν νῦν δαπανᾶν* D, Bod.

65. *γινωσκεις*: om. Bod.; *ἐκεῖνο οὐ γιγνώσκεις* AGR, Et., Dind.; *ἐκεῖνο οὐ γιγνώσκεις* D in marg. by later hand; *δαπανᾶν ἐκεῖνον οὐ γιγνώσκεις* Hug following Madvig.

66. *εαν ουν εφη αυτον επιλιπη η δαπανη και*: *ἐὰν οὖν ἔφη αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ὑπολείπῃ ἢ καί* D, and with *ἀπολείπῃ* for *ὑπολείπῃ* Bod. *ἢν οὖν ἔφη ἐπιλίπῃ αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ἢ καί* A, Et., Dind., R (with *ἐπιλείπῃ* by the first hand) and (with *ἤ* added by a later hand) G.

ψευδηται: so D; *ψευδῆ* A; *ψεύσεται* G, Bod.; *ψεύσηται* CR, Et., Dind.

67. *πως σοι εξει*: so CDR, Bod., Et.; *ὦ παῖ πῶς ἄρ' ἕξει* (or perhaps *ἆρ'*) G, Dind.; *ὦ παῖ πῶς ὀρέξῃ* A.

δηλον οτι ου καλως: so AGR, Et., Dind.; *οὐ καλῶς δῆλον ὅτι* D and (reading *δηλόνοτι*) Bod.

68. *εφη ω πατερ*: so AGR, Et., Dind.; *ὦ πάτερ ἔφη* D, Bod.

69. *προσγενομενον*: so DR, Bod., Dind. AG, Et. agree with the reading of the first hand *προσγι(γ)νομενον*.

70. *ω παι τουτο*: so AG (first hand) R, Dind.; *τοῦτο ὦ παῖ* DG (in marg. second hand), Bod., Stob. *Flor.* 48. 70; *ὦ παί* Et.

ει τις [α]ν: so DG (second hand in marg.), Bod.; *εἴ τις* Stob.; *πῶς ἄν* R; *ποῦ ἄν* AG (first hand), Dind.; *τίς ἄν* Et.

προσγενοιτο: so D, Bod., Stob., Dind.; *γένοιτο* AG (first hand, *τακτικόν* being added in in the margin) R, Et.

71. *δε*: so ADGR, Et., Stob., Dind.; *δεῖ* Bod.

[*ει*]*κος*: so D, Stob.; *εἰκός ἐστι* CAGR, Et., Dind.; om. Bod., which also omits *πόρον*.

γενεσθαι: so D, Bod., Et., Stob. (Hug); *προσγένεσθαι* AGR, Dind.

72. *μεν*: so AGR, Bod., Dind.; om. D. Et. places *μέν* after *δύναμιν*.

εχων ενθενδε: so D, Bod., Et.; *ἐνθένδε ἔχων* AGR, Dind.

73. *ε[ρχ]η*: so MSS.; *ἔρχει* Dind.

οιδ: so AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.; *εὖ οἶδ'* DG (second hand), Bod.

74. Μηδων: so ADGR, Dind.; τῶν Μήδων Bod., Et.

75. συμμαχον: so ADG, Bod., Dind.; om. R; δοκεῖ εἶναι σύμμαχον ἔσται Et.

δοκεις: so Bod.; δοκεῖ τι (apparently) D; δοκεῖ σοι AGR, Et., Dind.

77. παθη: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; πάθοι Et.

Κυαξαρει: so ADL and (in an erasure) R, Et.; Κυαξάρῃ G, Bod., Dind.

κοινηι: this word is placed before συν by the MSS. and Dind.

78. επιλιπη: so AGR, Et., Dind.; ὑπολείπῃ D, Bod.

υμας: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; ἡμᾶς Et.

εθους: ἔθους δέ Dind. with all MSS. except Et., which has καὶ ἔθους μοι μέμνησο added by a second hand in the margin against ἕνεκα μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδου πόρον τόδε δὲ πάντων μάλιστα.

79. μ[η]χανωμενον: so D, Bod.; μηχανᾶσθαι AGR, Et., Dind.

το[δ]ε: so CDR, Bod., Et., Stob. *Flor.* 48. 71, Dind.; τό AG.

81. τα επιτη[δε]ια: cf. note on l. 34.

[εσ]τ: so ADG, Bod., Et., Stob., Anon. *ap.* Boisson, *Anecd.* i. p. 113, Dind.; ἕως R.

82. οταν . . . ευπορης: so AGR (second hand), Et., Stob., Anon., Dind.; ὅτε . . . εὐπορεῖς D; ὅτε μὲν . . . εὐπορεῖς Bod.; ὅταν . . . εὐπορεῖς R (first hand).

μ[αλλον μη]χανω: so DG (in marg. by second hand), Stob.; om. μᾶλλον AG (first hand) R, Et., Anon., Dind.

83. τευξει: so D, Anon. (?), Et., Dind.; τοξεύῃ A; τεύξῃ GR, Bod., Stob.

α[πορειν] δοκων: so D, Bod., Stob.; ἄπορος δοκῶν εἶναι A, Et., Anon., G (omitting δοκῶν), and (ἄπορος being added in marg. by a later hand) L, Dind. α[πορος ειναι is too long for the lacuna.

84. και: so D, Stob.; καὶ ἔτι GR, Bod., Et., Dind.; καὶ αἴτι A.

[σ]εαυτου: so perhaps R (first hand, σ being over an erasure); αὐτοῦ AL (first hand); ἑαυτόῦ D; σαυτοῦ G, Et., Stob., Dind.; σαυτοῦ (σ corr. from ἑ) Bod.

85. τουτου: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; τούτων Et.

δε: so ADR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; δή G.

αλλω[ν]: so AGR, Et., Dind.; τῶν ἄλλων D, Bod., Stob.

86. τινας: so AG (second hand) R, Bod., Dind.; τινα DG (first hand ?), Et., Stob.

βουλη: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; βούλει Et.

ευ: so D, Bod., Et.; ἢ εὖ AGR, Stob., Dind.

ποιησα[ι: so ADG, Bod., Et., Stob., Dind.; ποιεῖσθαι R (first hand apparently).

[τηι δυναμε]ι: so here AGR, Et., Dind.; D, Bod., and Stob. place it after βούλῃ.

87. εως αν εχης τα δεοντα οι στρατιωται υπηρετησουσι σοι: so, with the exception of ἔχωσι for ἔχῃς, AGR, Et., Dind.; ἕως ἂν ἔχωσιν ὑπ. σοι οἱ στρ. ἔχοντες τὰ δέοντα D, Bod.; ὑπηρετήσουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται ἔχοντες τὰ δέοντα Stob.

88. πιστικωτατους δε λογους σαφ ισθι τοτε δυνησει λεγειν: so, with δυνήσῃ corrected from δυνήσει by second hand, D, and, with δυνήσῃ, Stob.; πιστικώτερον τοὺς δὲ λόγους κ.τ.λ. corr. to καὶ πιστικωτάτους τοὺς λόγους κ.τ.λ. Bod.; καὶ πιστοτέρους σάφα ἴσθι δυνήσῃ λόγους τότε λέγειν Et.; πιστικωτέρους σάφ' ἴσθι λόγους δυνήσῃ τότε λέγειν AG and, with δυνήσῃ λόγους, R; πειστικωτέρους σάφ' ἴσθι λόγους δυνήσει τότε λέγειν Dind. It is tolerably certain that the papyrus had δυνησει not δυνησῃ.

89. οταυπερ: so CDR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; ὅθενπερ A; ὅσαπερ G; ὅσονπερ Et.

ποιειν ι]κανος ων και ευ: so D, Stob.; καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἱκανὸς ὤν AGR, Et., Dind.; εὖ ποιεῖν ἱκανὸς ὢν καὶ κακῶς (καὶ κακῶς *in rasura*) Bod.

91. δοκεις ταυτα παντα καλως λεγειν: so D; καλῶς δοκεῖς ταῦτα λέγειν πάντα AGR and (with λέγεις) Et., Dind., and (omitting πάντα and with καλῶς . . . ταῦτα *in rasura*) Bod.

α [μεν] νυν λημψονται: so DR; ἃ μὲν αὖ νῦν λήμψ. Bod.; ἃ μὲν ὧν νῦν λήμψ. G (first hand), with μὲν αὖ νῦν added in marg. by a later hand; ὧν μὲν νῦν λέγονται λήψεσθαι A, Et., Dind., with which the reading of the first hand in the papyrus so far agrees in having ὧν.

92. τούτων χάριν MSS. (except Et. χάριν τούτων) Dind.; but there is not room for τουτων in the lacuna.

93. αυτους: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; αὐτός Et.

Κυαξαρης αγ[εται: so AGR, Et., Dind.; ἄγεται Κυαξάρης D, Bod.; ἐπάγεται Cobet, followed by Hug.

95. For εικος D and Bod. have πλείστην εἰκός, and πλείστην is added in the margin of G by a later hand. There is not room for πλειστην in the lacuna, so the papyrus probably agreed in omitting it with AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.

96. το: so AG, Dind.; τόν D, Bod.; τῷ Et.

εχοντα: so ADG (second hand) R, Bod., Dind.; ἔχοντι G (first hand); ἔχοντι (with α above ι) μέν Et., omitting μέν after ἐστι. The supplement at the end of the line is longer than it should be by three or four letters, but the only variant is ποιοῦντα (R) for ποιοῦντας ADG (corrected), Dind.

97. εστι: so DGR, Bod., Et., Dind.; ἔτι A.

ἔχοντα is bracketed by Hug, following Madvig.

ε[π]ειτα: so AG, Et., Dind. (ἔπειτ'); ἀπ' αὐτῶν DR, Bod., which has τικτᾶσθαι for τίσασθαι.

98. πορι[ζ]εσθαι: so ADG, Dind., agreeing with the first hand; πορίζειν R, Bod., agreeing with the corrector.

τι: so ADG, Dind.; τοι R, Et.

ηττον τι τουτο αισ]χρον ειναι: τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν ἧττον εἶναι D; τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν ἧττον εἶναι δ' (αι δ' in an erasure) Bod.; ἧττον τοῦτο εἶναι αἰσχρόν AG, Dind., and (with τοι for τι in an erasure) R; ἧσσόν τι τοῦτο εἶναι αἰσχρόν Et.

99. εχων [μεν: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; μὲν ἔχων Et.

100. δ]η: so G in marg.; om. ADR, Et., Dind. The reading of the papyrus is uncertain.

109. και τουτο: τοιοῦτο AD; τοιοῦτον G, Dind.

698. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia I.*

23·5 × 7·9 *cm.*

Two fragments from the conclusion of the first book of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, with the title, which is written, as usual, below the final column. We assign the small detached piece from § 45 to the previous column owing to the height of the papyrus. It is remarkable that what according to the accepted division are the opening words of Book ii, τοιαῦτα μὲν . . . Περσίδος, are here made the last sentence of Book i. The text does not otherwise differ from that of Dindorf.

On the verso of the papyrus are parts of two columns of a money-account in a cursive hand, which apparently is not later than about the middle of the third century. The text on the recto, therefore, which is written in sloping

oval uncials of the common type, is to be assigned to the earlier part of the century.

Col. i.

. . . . . .

υπ αυτων τουτων δι]κ̣η̣ν̣ [
εδοσαν πολλοις δ ο]υ̣κ η̣ρ̣ [
[κεσεν
. . . . . .

Col. ii.

. . . . . .

[ουδε]ν̣ θ̣α̣υ̣μ̣α̣σ̣τ̣[ον ου
γα[ρ αν]αγκη αυτο[ις εστιν
5. ω[ν α]ν μ[η] ε̣θ̣ελωσιν [επι
μ[ελε]σθαι τοιαυτα [μεν δη
αφ[ι]κοντο δ[ια]λεγο[μενοι

μ[ε]χρι των ορ[ι]ων τ[ης Περ
σιδος·
10 Ξ̄ενοφων[τος
Κ̄υρου [
π̄αιδεια
[α

5. The vestiges are rather in favour of εθελωσιν (R), but θελωσιν (ADG) is not impossible.

6. τοιαυτα: so AD; ταυτα G corr. marg.

As already observed in the introduction, this sentence commences the next Book according to the ordinary division.

699. Theophrastus, *Characters.*

7 × 4·2 *cm.*

The text of the *Characters* of Theophrastus is notoriously insecure, and offers a problem upon which an early papyrus of any part of the book might be expected to throw some light. The present fragment, which contains the end of ch. 25 and the beginning of ch. 26, is however disappointing in this respect, giving a version which seems to be not less of the nature of a compendium than that of the Codex Monacensis. Unfortunately that MS. includes only the first twenty-one chapters so that an actual comparison is not possible. The interest of the papyrus, therefore, chiefly lies in showing the antiquity of such compendia of the *Characters.* It is written in rather small oval uncials, which probably date from the earlier part of the third century.

. . . . . .

[. . .]χ[13 letters
[κ]αι λεγειν π[. . . . . .
[α]υτον σωσ[ας επι σκη
[ν]ην [
5 [η ολι]γ[αρχ]ια εστ[ιν φιλαρχι
[α] τις ισχυος ι[. . . . . .
[γ]λιχομενη [ο δε ολιγαρχι

[κ]ος τοιουτος ιδια ι . . . . .
μεν λεγων ουκ [αγαθον
10 [πο]λυκοιρανιη ει[ς κοιρα
νος εστω ε[ις] βασιλ[ευς
και του δημου χε[ιροτο
νου[ν]τος πολλους [λεγει πα
[ρελθ]ων αρκεσε[ιν ενα

1–4. The conclusion of ch. 25 (περὶ δειλίας) in the ordinary version is καὶ διηγεῖσθαι ὡς κινδυνεύσας ἕνα σέσωκα τῶν φίλων· καὶ εἰσάγειν πρὸς τὸν κατακείμενον σκεψομένους τοὺς δημότας καὶ τοὺς φυλέτας, καὶ τούτων ἅμα ἑκάστῳ διηγεῖσθαι ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐκόμισεν. If λεγειν in l. 2 is right there is no room for εκομισεν. λιτην (not φυλετην), which is an alternative, suggests nothing. In l. 4 after [ν]ην is a broad blank space marking the end of the chapter.

5. Ch. 26 (περὶ ὀλιγαρχίας) begins δόξειεν (δ') ἂν εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγαρχία φιλαρχία τις ἰσχυρῶς κέρδους γλιχομένη. ὁ δὲ ὀλιγαρχικὸς τοιοῦτος οἷος τοῦ δήμου βουλευομένου (βουλομ. MSS.) τίνας τῷ ἄρχοντι προσαιρήσονται (προαιρ. MSS.) τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς συνεπιμελησομένους παρελθὼν ἀποφήνασθαι (ἀποφήνας ἔχει MSS.) ὡς δεῖ αὐτοκράτορας τούτους εἶναι· κἂν ἄλλοι προβάλλωνται δέκα λέγειν ἱκανὸς εἷς ἐστιν, τοῦτον δὲ ὅτι δεῖ ἄνδρα εἶναι. καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου ἐπῶν τοῦτο ἓν μόνον κατέχειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθόν, κ.τ.λ. (omitting εἷς βασιλεύς). The definition of ὀλιγαρχία has generally been recognized as unsatisfactory and the MSS. disagree, Pal.-Vat. omitting φιλαρχία and the others reading ἰσχυροῦ for ἰσχυρῶς. The papyrus variant ισχυος, which gives the sense aimed at by Fischer's emendation of κέρδους to κράτους, is very likely right, though the word at the end of l. 6 remains doubtful. The first letter, if not ι, seems to be γ, η, or π. Besides being much more compressed the text of the papyrus shows a different order, ll. 12–4 corresponding to what in the MSS. precedes the Homeric quotation. In ll. 9 sqq. it is not certain that μεν, νος, κ.τ.λ. are the beginnings of the lines since the papyrus is broken immediately before those letters; but the arrangement proposed is the most probable.

700. Demosthenes, *De Corona.*

14·5 × 4·4 *cm.*

This fragment is a strip from the bottom of a column containing parts of pp. 230–1 of the *De Corona.* The lines being incomplete both at beginning and end, it is doubtful how they should be divided; the arrangement given below is therefore hypothetical. The hand is a rather irregular upright uncial of medium size, and more probably of the second century than the third. A high point is occasionally used, this and the diaeresis being the only lection

marks that occur. Our collations in this and the other oratorical fragments (**701–4**) are with the Teubner edition of Blass.

. . . . . .

Αθη]ναιοι και πρ[οσηκον ισως
ως κατ ε]κεινους τους χρον[ους ειχε
τα πρα]γματα αναμνησ[αι ινα
προς τον] [[παροντα]] ὕπαρχο[ντα και
ρον εκα]στα θεωρητ[[αι]] το[υ γαρ Φωκι
κου συν]σταντος πολεμ[ου ου δι ε
με ου γαρ] εγωγε επολιτευ[ομην πω
τοτε πρωτον μεν υμ]εις ο[υτω διε
[κεισθε ωστε Φωκεας μεν βουλε]
σθαι σω]θηναι κ[ιπερ ου δικαια ποι
ουντα]ς ορωντες [Θηβαιοις δε ο
τιουν αν] εφησθηναι πα[θουσιν
ουκ αλογω]ς [ο]υδ αδικως α[υτοις οργι
ζομενοι ο]ις γαρ ευτυχηκε[σαν εν
Λευκτρο]ις [ο]υ μετριως εκε[χρηντο ε
πειτα η Πε]λ[ο]ποννησος απ[ασα δι
ειστηκει] και ουθ ο[ι] μισου[ντες
Λακεδα]ιμονιους ἴσχυον [ουτως
ωστε α]νελειν αυτους ου[θ οι προ
τερον δ]ι εκεινων αρχον[τες κυ
ριοι των] πολεων ησαν· α[λλα τις
ην ακρι]τος και παρα τουτο[ις . . . .
. . . ερι]ς και ταραχηι· ταυ[τα δε ο
ρων ο Φιλ]ιππος ου γαρ ην α[φανη
τοις παρ] εκαστοις προδοτα[ις χρη
ματα αν]αλισκων παντας [
Ε]λληση αν

3. ὑμᾶς, which Bl(ass) omits after ἀναμνῆσαι with SL, may have stood in the papyrus.
4. παροντα which was first written was a mere slip.
5. The correction is probably by a second hand.

8. The papyrus most likely had either τοτε or ποτε, like the other MSS. [τότε] Bl.
14. ευτυχηκε[σαν: ηὐτυχήκεσαν Bl.
18. ισχυον [ουτως: οὕτως ἴσχυον MSS.
22–3. The usual reading here is καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις, but some MSS. (including FYQO) omit παρά, O adding Ἕλλησιν after ἅπασιν, which is noticed as a variant also in FQ. It is manifest that none of these readings suits the papyrus, for only six or seven letters are required between τουτο[ις and ερι]ς. και πα|σιν or απα|σιν might be read, or we may suppose that the scribe was led by the homoioteleuton of τούτοις and ἄλλοις to write simply τουτοις απα|σιν. The entry at the bottom of the column (probably by a second hand), where O's variant Ε]λλησι is followed by ανω (cf. e.g. **223**. 126), evidently refers to this passage; but how much, if anything, stood before Ε]λλησι cannot of course be determined. In l. 23 l. ταραχή.

701. Demosthenes, *Contra Timocratem.*

15·7 × 14·6 *cm.*

Parts of three rather short and narrow columns (about 16 × 5 *cm.*), covering pp. 720–1 of Demosthenes' speech against Timocrates. Of the first and third columns only a few letters remain, but the lower portion of the intervening one is complete. The text, which is written in handsome round uncials (cf. **661**, Plate v), probably of the end of the second century or of the first half of the third, seems, so far as can be judged, to be a fairly good one.

Col. i.

. . . . . .

το]υς εν	[ριον τριακον]θ η
[δεκα εις το δ]ικαστη	[μερων αφ ης α]ν

Col. ii.

. . . . . .

5 η ἀποτ[[ε]]ισα[ι εαν	15 εαν δε αργυριου τι
δε αργυριο[υ τιμη	μηθηι δεδεσθω
θηι δεδεσθω τε	τεως αν εκτ[[ε]]ισηι·
ως αν εκτισηι ο τι	πεπαυσο εστιν
αν αυτου καταγνω	ουν οπως εναν

10 σθηι ακουετε ω
ανδρες δικασται λε
γε αυτοις αυτο του
το παλιν
ν̄ομος̄

20 τιωτερα τις δυο
θειη του δεδεσθαι
τεως αν εκτ[[ε]]ισω
σιν τους αλοντας

Col. iii.

. . . .
ε[ναντια αυτος
25 α[υτω νομοθετειν
η[ξιωσεν ουδε τοις
α[λλοις των νο
μ[ων εωντων εμοι
μ[εν γαρ εινεκα αν
30 α[ιδειας ο τοιου

τ[ος δοκει παν
α[ν ετοιμως ερ
γ[ον ποιησαι ωσπερ
το[ινυν ω ανδρες
35 Α[θηναιοι των πε
ρι [ταλλα

3. The length of the line indicates that εντος was omitted before τριακον]θ, as in A; so Bl(ass).

7. τεως: so Bl. with B; τε ἕως SA. Cf. ll. 17 and 22, where S has τεὼς, A τε ἕως as before.

5. For the deletion of the ε of αποτεισα[ι cf. ll. 17 and 22, and l. 8, where εκτισηι is written. -τεισ- Bl. in all these passages.

19. αν is similarly omitted before εναντιωτερα in A. ἐναντιώτερ' ἄν Bl., following a conjecture of Weil.

24–33. The vestiges of the initial letters here are with two or three exceptions too slight for certain recognition, and the arrangement of the lines is therefore insecure. α[and μ[in ll. 27–8 are not very satisfactory, more especially the latter, in place of which α or λ would be more suitable. A greater difficulty however arises in l. 32, where the traces would suit ν[much better than α[. But the division πα|ν is extremely improbable, especially as l. 31 is a short one; moreover the papyrus is rather rubbed, and α can therefore hardly be absolutely excluded, though very doubtful.

702. Demosthenes, *Contra Boeotum.*

13·5 × 6·5 *cm.*

A small fragment from Demosthenes' oration against Boeotus, pp. 1023–4, written in good-sized uncials which on the whole approximate to the square

type, though Є and C have a tendency to become narrow, and which we should ascribe to the second century, and perhaps the earlier part of it. The text has no variants of importance.

θη και [τ]αυτα λεγ[ω
εκ τουτων των μ[αρ
τυριω[ν] εισεσθε
⊃——
μα[ρ]τυριαι
5 τοσαυτα τοινυν [ε
μου ελ[α]ττουμεν[ου
φανερως ουτοσι [
νυν σχ[ε]τλιαζων [και
δεινοπαθων τη[ν
10 προικα μου της μ[η
τρος αποστερησε[ι
——
αλλ υμεις ω αν[δρες p. 1024
δικασ[τα]ι προ[ς Διος
κα[ι θεω]ν μη κ[ατα
15 [πλαγητε] υπο τ[ης
. . . .

7. ουτοσι: so MSS.; οὗτος Bl(ass).
8. νυν: so Bl. with S, &c.; νυνί FQ.
9. τη[ν: so FQ; καὶ τήν Bl. with S, &c.
10. μου: so r; με Bl. with S, &c.

703. Aeschines, *In Ctesiphontem.*

9 × 9 *cm.*

This small fragment, containing parts of §§ 94 and 96 of Aeschines' speech against Ctesiphon, belongs to what must have been an exceptionally interesting text, for in spite of its insignificant size it has three new readings, all of which are or may be improvements. The handwriting is in oval sloping uncial of the usual third century type. High stops and a paragraphus occur.

Col. i.

. . . . .
]ν
]
]
]
5]

Col. ii.

. . . . .
10 [αλλο]υ[ς] τ[ω]ν [Ε]λλην[ων
ους βουλεσθαι [κ]οινων[ειν
της συνταξεως· ωστ[ε
ουτε χρηματων ου[τε
στρατιωτ[ω]ν απορια[ν
15 εσεσθαι· και ταυτα μεν
——
δη τα φανερα· εφη δ[ε

Ωρεο]ν̣ [συν]
[ταξεις και τας] εξ Ερετρι
[ας τα δεκα ταλ]αντα ζων
[των]
. . . . .

και π[ραξεις πραττειν
ετερα[ς δι απορρητων
και το[υτων ειναι τινας
20 μαρτ[υρας
2 lines lost
ρε̣[καλει

8. ζων|[των: the MSS. have ὁρώντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων. Whether the papyrus inserted ζώντων before ὁρώντων or had ζώντων in place of one of the other three verbs (probably ὁρώντων) cannot be determined. ζώντων makes a more forcible prelude than ὁρώντων to φρονούντων βλεπόντων.

14–5. απορια[ν] εσεσθαι: ἔσεσθαι ἀπορίαν Bl. with MSS. The papyrus reading avoids a hiatus.

16. δη: om. MSS., Bl. The insertion of δή is an improvement.

704. Isocrates, *Contra Sophistas.*

7·9 × 10·3 *cm.*

Parts of two columns containing portions of §§ 16–18 of Isocrates' oration (xiii) against the sophists, written in sloping oval uncials of the usual third century type. The text contains no striking variants.

Col. i.

. . . . .
[προελεσθ]αι και § 16
[μιξασθαι προς αλ]
[ληλας] και ταξα
[σθ]α̣ι̣ κατα τροπον
5 ετι δε των καιρων
μη διαμαρτειν αλ
[λα] και τοις ενθυμ̣[η
μασ̣[ι π]ρεποντως
ολο[ν] τον λογον κα
10 τα[π]ο[ι]κειλαι κα[ι
τ̣ο̣ι̣ς ονομασιν ευ

Col. ii.

. . . .
των δ[ιδακτων
παραλ[ιπειν περι
δε των λ̣[οιπων
τοιουτο[ν αυτον
20 παραδει[γμα παρα
σχειν ωστ[ε τους § 18
εκτυπωθ[εντας και
μιμησε[σθαι δυ

ρυθμως κ[αι μ]ουσι
[κ]ως ειπειν ταυτα § 17
δε πολλης επιμε
15 [λεια]ς [δεισ]θαι και
. . . . .

νηθεντα[ς ευθυς
25 ανθηρ[οτερον τι ?
και χ[αριεστερον
τω[ν αλλων φαι
. . . . .

2. [μιξασθαι: so ΓΔ (first hand) ΕΘ; Bl. follows Plan. and Δ (corr.) in reading μῖξαι, which is too short to suit the papyrus. Cf. the next note.

3–4. ταξα[σθ]αι: so ΓΔΕΘ; τάξαι Bl.

23. μιμησε[σθαι: μιμήσασθαι Bl. with ΓΔΕΘ; μιμεῖσθαι vulgo. The papyrus reading is an error for μιμήσασθαι.

δυ]νηθεντα[ς: so in the Antidosis of E and vulgo; δυναμένους Bl. with all the best MSS.

25. ανθηροτερον by itself is not sufficient to fill up this line; τε or τι, which is not found in the MSS., may be inserted.

IV. DOCUMENTS, CHIEFLY OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

(*a*) OFFICIAL.

705. Two Petitions to the Emperors with Replies.

21·2 × 46 *cm.* A.D. 200–2.

A generous effort to lighten some of the burdens which weighed upon the unfortunate Egyptians in the Roman period is recorded in these copies of two petitions to Septimius Severus and Caracalla, to which the Emperors' replies are, as usual, prefixed instead of being appended. The document, which is written in a rude uncial hand on the verso of **740**, contained four columns, but of these the first and last are too incomplete to have any value. A mention of the praefect Laetus in l. 40 fixes the date within the years 200–2.

The writer of both petitions is Aurelius Horion, who had held high offices at Alexandria and was a rich landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome; his object

in both cases was to secure the Imperial guarantee that certain benefactions which he proposed to found in that district would be permanently maintained. In the first petition (ll. 15–53) it is Oxyrhynchus itself which is to be the recipient of his favour, and the earlier part of the letter, as far as l. 42, is devoted to an interesting sketch of the claims which that city possessed upon the Imperial consideration. After the lengthy introduction (ll. 15–21), which can be restored on the analogy of ll. 65–8, and nine mutilated lines, Aurelius Horion reminds the Emperors (ll. 31–5) of 'the loyalty, fidelity, and friendship towards the Romans which the Oxyrhynchites had displayed both by helping them in the war against the Jews, and continuing up to the present to celebrate the day of victory by an annual festival.' This war refers to some Jewish rising in Egypt which perhaps took place not long before the date of the letter, like the Jewish rebellion in the reign of Hadrian mentioned in B. G. U. 889; but it would seem from the use of the word *πόλεμος* to have been on a larger scale than the revolt in Hadrian's time. Aurelius Horion's next argument (ll. 36–9) is 'Moreover, you yourselves honoured the Oxyrhynchites when you visited the country, by allowing them to enter your judgement-seat first after the Pelusiots.' This well illustrates the importance which Oxyrhynchus had attained by A. D. 200, when it was one of the chief towns in Egypt, and already ranked above Memphis. Thirdly (ll. 39–42), Aurelius Horion appeals to the opinion of the city held by the praefect, Laetus, who will, he says, bear evidence in its favour. After these preliminaries the writer comes to his scheme (ll. 42–51). Owing to the imperfect condition of ll. 42–6 the details are not quite clear, but apparently Aurelius Horion proposed to devote, nominally in the form of a loan, a large sum of money which was to be invested, and of which the interest was to be expended upon maintaining the annual contests of ephebi at Oxyrhynchus upon the same scale of splendour as that of similar contests elsewhere, perhaps at Antinoë (cf. l. 50, note). The petition concludes (ll. 51–3) with the request that the Emperors will give orders forbidding the diversion of the benefaction to any other purpose than that intended by its founder. The answer of the Emperors (ll. 1–14) is for the most part lost, but that it was of a favourable character is made certain by direct references to it in their answer to the second petition (cf. l. 59 *καὶ ταύτης*, 61 *τ[ὸ] ὅμοιον δὴ καὶ ἐ[π]ὶ τούτου φυλαχθήσεται*). It is pleasing to know that Oxyrhynchus enjoyed the fruits of Aurelius Horion's generosity for more than a century; for in **60**, written in A. D. 323, we find the logistes, unmindful of the clash of empires, quietly issuing a notice that the gymnastic display by the ephebi will take place on the following day.

The second petition (ll. 65–90) is practically complete, so far as it goes, and

deals with a plan for benefiting certain villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the inhabitants of which had been so exhausted by the annual λειτουργίαι in the form of contributions to the State and compulsory obligations to act as guards that there was a prospect of the land being deserted. Aurelius Horion therefore proposed to present each village with a sum of money to be invested in hay, the yearly revenue being devoted to the assistance of the inhabitants on whom the λειτουργίαι fell. To this the Emperors reply (ll. 54–63), signifying their approval of this scheme as of the former one, and guaranteeing the continuance of the benefaction.

Col. i.

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σ]επτίμ[ι]ο[ς
[Σεουῆρος Εὐσεβὴς Περτίναξ Σ]εβαστὸς
[Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Πα]ρ[θικ]ὸς
[Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτ]οκράτωρ Κ[αῖ]σαρ
5 [Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀν]τωνῖνος Εὐ[σ]εβὴς
[Σεβαστὸς]
[Αὐρηλίῳ Ὡρείω]νι χαίρειν.
[15 letters] . ηχα[. . . . .] ἐ̣π̣εδο-
[13 „ τῶ̣]ν̣ Ὀξυρυγχειτῶ̣ν̣ [.]οσ̣-
10 [16 „]α̣ν̣τ̣ι̣μ̣α . . . αγ · [.]ν
[16 „]α . . [.]ε̣τ̣ . . . . [.]λ̣[. .]
[15 „]μας εἰς τ̣[. . . . . .]ν̣
[15 „]τιασι . [. . . . . .]υ̣
[15 „] . ἔστιν [δὲ ἡ ἀ]ξί[ωσις·
15 [τοῖς εὐμενεστάτοις Αὐτ]οκράτορσιν̣ [Σ]εο[υήρῳ
[καὶ Ἀντωνίνῳ τοῖς] πάν[τ]ων [ἀ]νθρώπων
[σωτῆρσι καὶ εὐερ]γέταις Αὐρήλιος
[Ὡρείων γενόμε]νος στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχι-
[δικαστὴς τῆς λαμ]προτάτης πόλ[ε]ως τῶν
20 [Ἀλεξανδρέων] χαίρειν.
[. . . . . ὦ φιλανθρωπ]ότατοι Αὐτοκράτορες
[14 letters] . ι̣ τ[ῇ πό]λει μεγάλῃ
[14 „]ενει καὶ ἔτι [σ]ωζούσῃ
[13 „] . [.]νεα̣ν̣ κατ[ο]ικισε̣ν̣ . . ν̣
25 [15 „]τιτ[.]σ̣τ̣ι̣τ̣[. . . . .]σ̣

[15 letters] . ενωτε[. . . . .]νε
[15 „]νδελ . . . [. . . . . .] . ν
[14 „]δον . [.] . μ[. . . . .]ε[.] . ς

Col. ii.

α[. . . . . .]ον καὶ αλ[. .]σαμ[. . .]λων[. . . .]
. . . [.] π[λ]είω ὢν ὁ [λ]όγος ἐμὲ τ[. . . λ]ανθά[νει,]
πρ[όσε]σ[τ]ι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐν[οι-
ά τε καὶ πίστις καὶ φιλία ἣν ἐνεδείξαντο κα[ὶ
κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πόλεμον συμμαχή-
σαντες καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν τῶν ἐπινεικίων
ἡμέραν ἑκάστου ἔτους πανηγυρίζοντας.
ἐτειμήσατε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδη-
μήσ[αν]τες τῷ ἔθνει πρώτοις μετὰ Πηλου-
σιώτας μεταδόντας τῆς εἰς τὸ δ[ικ]αστήριο[ν ὑμῶ]ν
εἰσόδου, γνωρίζει δὲ τὴν πόλ[ιν] καὶ ὁ λαμπ[ρότα-
τος Λαῖτος ἐπί τε τοῖς καλλίσ[το]ις καὶ ἐλε[υθερω-
τάτους ἔχουσαν τοὺς ἐνοικο[ῦν]τ[ας κα]ὶ π[. . . . .
μειο[.] ἐπιεικεστάτους. διαδ[13 letters
τὴν πόλιν ἠθέλησα μηδε[13 „
τῶ[ν] ἡμετέρων καταλιπε[13 „
τρη[.]άμην καὶ τοὺς ὑπυσμ[13 „
οὐκ [ἔ]λ[α]ττον Ἀττικῶν μυρι[. . .]ι των[. . . . .
τας δανείζεσθαί τε καὶ φυλ[άσσε]σθαι καθὰ ἐπ[ὶ
τῶν προτέρων ὥρισται, τὸ[ν δὲ] σ[υ]ναγόμενον
τ[ό]κον χωρεῖν εἰς ἔπαθλα ἐφήβων τῶν παρ' αὐ-
τ[ο]ῖ[ς] κατ' ἔτος ἀγωνιουμένων ἐφ' οἷς κα[ὶ] οἱ Ἀν-
τ[ι]ν[οῖς ?] νῦν ἀγωνίζοντε. καὶ ἀξιῶ κελεῦ[σαι ὑ]μᾶς
κα[ὶ τ]αὐτ[α] τὰ χρήματα μηδενὶ ἐξεῖν[α]ι εἰς ἄλ-
λ[ο μηδὲν] πε[ρ]ισπᾶν.

32. πιστ of πιστις corr. 35. l. πανηγυρίζοντες. 38. l. μεταδόντες. 40. l. ἐλε[υθερω]τάτοις. 41. υσαν of εχουσαν above ντας erased. 45. ὕπ Pap. 51. l. ἀγωνίζονται.

Col. iii.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λ[ο]ύκιος [Σ]επτίμ[ιος Σ]ε[ου]ῆρος
55 *Εὐσεβ[ὴ]ς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικὸς*
Παρθικοῦ Μεγίσ[το]ῡ [κ]αὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ
Μάρκο[ς] Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβὴς Σεβαστὸς
Αὐρηλίῳ Ὡρείωνι χαίρειν.
ἀποδεχόμεθα σε καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιδόσεως ἣν
60 *ἀξιοῖς ἐπιδοῦναι ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν*
ἀποδιδοὺς ἀμοιβὴν ἐνκτήσεως. τ[ὸ] ὅμοιον δὴ καὶ
ἐ[π]ὶ τούτου φυλαχθήσεται καὶ καθότ[ι ἠ]θέλησας ἀμε-
τάστρεπτον εἰς ἕτερόν τι δαπανήσ[εσ]θαι τὴν χάριν.
ἔστιν δὲ ἡ ἀξίωσις·
65 *τοῖς εὐμενεστάτοις Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρσι Σε[ουήρ]ῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίνῳ*
τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων σωτῆρσιν [κ]αὶ εὐεργέταις
Αὐρήλιος Ὡρείων γενόμενος στρατη[γ]ὸς καὶ ἀρχιδικασ-
τὴς τῆς λαμ[π]ροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων χαίρειν.
κῶμαί τινες τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ, ὦ φιλανθρωπότα-
70 *τοι Αὐτοκράτορες, ἐν αἷς ἐγώ τε ⟨καὶ⟩ οἱ υἱοί μου χωρία κεκτήμε-*
θα σφ[ό]δρα ἐξησθένησαν ἐνοχλούμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἔτος
λειτουργιῶν τοῦ τε ταμείου καὶ τῆς παρ[φ]υ[λ]ακῆς τῶν
τόπων, κινδυνεύουσί τε τῷ μὲν ταμείῳ παραπολέ-
σθαι τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν γῆν ἀγεώργητον καταλιπεῖν.
75 *ἐγὼ [ο]ὖν καὶ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ τοῦ χρησίμου στοχα-*
ζ[όμε]νος βούλομαι εἰς ἀνάκτησιν αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσίν
τ[ινα] βραχεῖαν ἑκάστῃ ποιήσασθαι εἰς συνωνὴν
χ[όρτ]ου οὗ ἡ πρόσοδος κατατεθήσεται εἰς τροφὰς καὶ
δ[απά]νας τῶν κατ' ἔτος λειτουργησόντων ἐπὶ τῷ

55. ξ σεβαστος inserted later, τος being above the line. l. Ἀραβικός. ς of αδιαβηνικος corr. from υ. 56. l. Παρθικὸς Μέγισ[το]ς. 57. Final ς of ευσεβης inserted above the line. 70. ῦιοι Pap. 74. l. ἡμετέραν(?).

Col. iv.

(80) lost, (81) . [, (82) λ[, (83) τ[, (84) τα[, (85) βο . [, (86) επ[, (87) ναι . [, (88) μητ[, (89) τοχ[, (90) φ . . [

8. The first word probably was or corresponded to ἀποδεχόμεθα; cf. l. 59.

20. The position of χαίρειν after, instead of before, the nominative (cf. l. 68), is unusual.

42. Perhaps διὰ δ[ὲ ταῦτα.

46. οὐκ ἔλαττον Ἀττικῶν μυρί[ων would refer to the sum which Aurelius Horion proposed to spend, but if ταλάντων is supplied at the end of l. 45 (it cannot come in l. 46) the amount seems enormous. Possibly Ἀττικῶν is masculine and should be separated from μυρι[.

47. δανείζεσθαι: the benefaction apparently took the form of a loan to the city, but since the interest was devoted to public purposes, it was to all intents a gift; cf. the similar case in ll. 76–8.

50. Ἀντ[ι]ν[οῖς] νῦν is very doubtful, though a proper name would be expected. The ν at the end of l. 50 is fairly certain, the only alternative being γο, but the second ν could equally well be ι. For νυν, εων can be read.

54–79. 'The Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to Aurelius Horion, greeting. We approve of this benefaction also which you request leave to confer upon the villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome, giving (to different persons) a succession in the enjoyment of it (?). The same rule shall be observed in this case also, and, as you wish, no change shall be introduced which would divert the gift to any other purpose.

'The request is as follows:—

'To the most gracious Emperors, Severus and Antoninus, the saviours and benefactors of the world, Aurelius Horion, formerly strategus and archidicastes of the most illustrious city of Alexandria, greeting. Certain villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome, most humane Emperors, in which both I and my sons own estates, are utterly exhausted by the burdensome demands of the annual λειτουργίαι required both for the Treasury and the protection of the districts, and there is a danger of their being ruined as far as the Treasury is concerned and leaving our (?) land uncultivated. Accordingly having before me a both humane and useful object I wish, in order that they may recover, to make a trifling benefaction to each one for the purchase of hay, the revenue of which shall be devoted to the maintenance and support of those who are annually subject to the λειτουργίαι on condition that . . . .'

61. ἀμοιβὴν ἐνκτήσεως no doubt refers to something which was explained more fully in ll. 80 sqq., and owing to the loss of these the meaning is uncertain. We have supposed the sense to be that the inhabitants would enjoy the fruit of the benefaction successively as they were called upon to undertake the λειτουργίαι.

62–3. ἀμετάστρεπτον εἰς ἕτερον κ.τ.λ.: two ideas seem to be confused, (1) the gift is to be ἀμετάστρεπτον, (2) it is forbidden (sc. μὴ ἔξεσται) to spend it on other purposes.

74. ὑμετέραν may be right, referring to βασιλική or οὐσιακὴ γῆ; but since the scribe is not very accurate, and Aurelius Horion has mentioned his own land in l. 70, the correction ἡμετέραν is more probable.

77. εἰς συνωνὴν χ[όρτ]ου: cf. **507**. 24. The details of the scheme are somewhat obscure, but it is clear that the benefaction would extend over a series of years, and unless the ἐπίδοσις was an annual present (in which case the necessity for having an Imperial guarantee for its continuance seems pointless), it must have been a capital sum of money which produced a yearly revenue; cf. the first petition, especially ll. 48–9. Apparently the revenue of the ἐπίδοσις was to be assigned to the different villages, i.e. placed in charge

of the chief men, and invested in hay, the profits from the sale of which were to be assigned to the persons who in any year were burdened with λειτουργίαι. Why Aurelius Horion selected this particular form for his benefaction we cannot say; but **507** suggests that good profits were to be made out of hay, presumably by buying it cheap and selling it dear.

706. Report of Legal Proceedings.

16·6 × 10·8 *cm.* About A.D. 115.

Conclusion of a report of a case tried before M. Rutilius Lupus, praefect in A.D. 114–7. The litigants were Damarion, apparently a freedman, and his patron Heraclides; but owing to the mutilation of the papyrus the precise nature of the question at issue is not clear. Damarion asserted that Heraclides had accepted from him a sum of money in settlement of all claims, but the praefect nevertheless gave an entirely adverse judgement, and threatened to have him beaten if further complaints were made. The most interesting point is the opposition between the native Egyptian law and the ἀστικοὶ νόμοι, i.e. the law of Alexandria, which conferred certain powers upon the patrons of liberated slaves in relation to the slaves so liberated, and upon which the decision of the praefect is based. No doubt Heraclides was an Alexandrian citizen.

. . . . . .

[11 letters] παρ' Αἰγυπτίο̣ι̣[ς 18 letters
[τοὺς ἀπελευθ]έρους τοῖς πάτρωσι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρα[κ]λείδην
[. . . . . ἀπειλη]φέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργύριον καὶ γεγρα-
[φέναι χειρόγρ]αφον περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἕξειν πρᾶγμα
5 [πρὸς αὐτόν, κα]ὶ̣ ἀναγνόντος τὸ χειρόγραφον Λοῦπος
[βουλευσάμενο]ς̣ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπεφήνατο οὕτως·
[ἐν μὲν τοῖς τῶν] Αἰγυπτίων νόμοις οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς
[14 letters]η̣ς ἐξουσίας τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων
[15 „] ἀ[κο]λούθω̣ς̣ τοῖς ἀστικοῖς νόμοις
10 [12 „ Δαμαρί]ωνα Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ πάτρωνι
[10 „ κ]ατὰ τὸν νόμον'. καὶ τῷ Δαμαρίωνι εἶπεν·
[11 „]ου καὶ προστίθημι ἐάν σε μέμψηται
[9 „ ξυ]λοκοπηθῆναί σε κελεύσω'.

6. *βουλευσάμενο]ς κ.τ.λ.*: cf. e.g. P. Catt. iv. 12, 19, and P. Goodsp. 29. iii. 1, where read *Λιβερᾶλ[ις (?) λαλήσας.*

9. *τοῖς ἀστικοῖς νόμοις*: cf. the common use of *ἀστός* and *ἀστή* to designate citizens of Alexandria, e.g. **271**. 3, **477**. 14. That Alexandrians enjoyed certain privileges, especially with regard to taxation, is well-known, but the present seems to be the first direct reference to a peculiar code of law. Lumbroso had indeed already inferred (*l'Egitto*, p. 65) from the distinction drawn between citizens of Alexandria and others in the matter of corporal punishment (Philo, *in Flac.* c. 10) that there were also differences of law and procedure; and this view now finds ample confirmation. Cf. the contrast in the Ptolemaic period between the *πολιτικοὶ νόμοι* (i.e. laws particularly affecting the Greeks, P. Tebt. I. p. 58) and the *τῆς χώρας νόμος* in P. Taur. 1. iv. 17 and vii. 9.

13. *ξυ]λοκοπηθῆναι*: cf. **653** *ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃς οὐ μόνον κατακριθήσει ἀλλὰ καὶ δαρήσ[ει.* Perhaps *Ἡρακλείδης* is to be supplied at the beginning of the line, though this would place Damarion entirely at his opponent's mercy.

707. Report of Legal Proceedings.

26 × 31·5 *cm.* About A.D. 136.

What remains of this account of a trial before some magistrate—the particular court is not specified—consists chiefly of the opening speech of the counsel for the plaintiff Plutarchus. The prime cause of the dispute was the failure of one of the defendants, Philinus, to fulfil the terms of a contract, a copy of which is prefixed (Col. i), made by him with a woman named Demetria for the lease of a vineyard and orchard. Philinus had undertaken to carry out certain improvements, in consideration of which he had received from Demetria a sum of 2000 drachmae. The promised improvements, however, were not effected; and the obligations of Philinus were subsequently taken over by his brother Antistius. At the expiration of the term of the lease the land seems to have been let to a new tenant, the plaintiff Plutarchus (cf. note on ll. 15–7); but the papyrus breaks off before the relation of the latter to the two brothers or the occasion of the present dispute are elucidated.

This document is on the verso of the papyrus. The recto is occupied with three columns of a survey of different pieces of land, written probably early in the second century. Mention is made of *ψιλ(οὶ) τόπ(οι) ἐν οἷ[ς] κέλλαι ἐμπ(οιούμεναι ?) ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* and of *τόπ(οι) ἱερατικοί.*

Col. i.

. . . . . .

]ρνη[. .

]ν *δημοσίων καὶ*

]π̣[. . . . . ὑ]πὲρ φόρου οἴνου
ἑ]ξαετίας ἕκτακτα
5]ων̣ ἐπὶ τὴν α[ὐ]τὴν ἑξαετίαν δημο-
σίων]ς̣ τῇ αὐτῇ ἑξαετίᾳ ἐπάναγκον δὲ ἕως
οἰκοδομή]σω τροχὸν ἐκ καινῆς τῶν ἐπάνω με-
ρῶν]η̣ παρ̣ὰ̣ τῆς̣ Δημητρίας (δραχμὰς) Ϊ Β ἀφ' ὧν εἰσιν
] Δημητρίας ζευ(γ) β βοῶν (δραχμ) υξ καὶ καταθη-
10]ν πάντα σύμφυτα καὶ ἔμφορα καὶ ἀκολ(ουθ)
]κ . [. . . .]ισαν̣ καὶ εὐδοκῶ. χρ[ό(νος)] ὁ αὐ(τός).

Col. ii.

[Πλούταρχος . . . . . πρὸ]ς Φιλῖν[ο]ν καὶ Ἀνθέστιον ἀμφοτέρου[ς
[. . . . . ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων π]ό̣λ̣[εω]ς. Σαραπίων ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ
[Πλουτάρχου εἶπεν· ὁ συνηγορούμ]ενος Πλούταρχος ἐμισθώ-
15 [σατο παρὰ Δη̣μητρίας τινὰ π]ε̣ρὶ̣ τ̣ὸν Ὀξυρυγχείτην ὕπαρξιν̣
[21 letters]η̣ Δημητρία προπεποίηται τοῖς
[16 „ μισθ]ώ̣σεω̣[ς] ὁ̣ ν̣ε̣ότερος τῶν ἀν̣τ̣ι̣τ̣ε̣τ̣[α]γ̣μέ-
[νων Φιλεῖνο]ς μισθωσάμενος παρὰ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ι̣δ̣ (ἔτους)
Ἁδρια[νοῦ Καίσ]αρος τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἔτη ἓξ ἀμπελῶνα καὶ πω-
20 μάρ[ιον περὶ κώ]μ̣ην Σερῦφιν κατ' ἔνγραπτον μίσθωσιν δι' ἧς
δεδήλω̣[τ]α̣ι̣ ἐ̣ν̣ μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ τετραετίᾳ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ φόρου
τελέσαι ἀλλὰ μόνα [τ]ὰ δημόσια διαγράψαι ἐπὶ τῷ πᾶσαν
τὴν ἐν τῷ κτ[ή]ματι διάψειλον γῆν ἀνάξαι ἀμπέλῳ τῇ
δὲ λοιπῇ διετίᾳ τελέσαι τὰ διὰ τῆς μισθώσεως ὑπὲρ φό-
25 ρου ἀνειλημμένα ἀνασ[τῆ]σαί τε τὰς τοῦ κτήματος
καὶ πωμαρίου πλάτας ἐπὶ μέτροις καὶ λαμβάνοντα
παρὰ τῆς Δημητρίας (δραχμὰς) Ϊ Β ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τροχὸν ἐκ καιν-
νῆς ἐξ ὀ[πτῆς] πλίνθου ἐπὶ μέτροις ὡρισμένοις. ὅν-
περ λαβόντα τὰς (δραχμὰς) Ϊ Β τὸν μὲν τροχὸν μὴ πεποιηκέναι
30 ἐπὶ τοῖς δ[η]λωθεῖσι μέτροις ἀλλὰ ἀσυντέλεστον κατα-
λελοιπέναι τοῦ τε κ[τ]ήματος τέλειον ἠμεληκέναι
καὶ μηδὲ τὰς πλάτας περιβεβληκέναι. τούτων οὕτως
ἐχόντων τῷ ι̣θ̣ (ἔτει) Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἐνγυητὴς

γείνεται τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φιλείνου [Ἀ]ντιθέστιος πάντων τῶν
35 διὰ τῆς μ[ι]σθώσε[ως] ἀνειλημ[μέ]νων καὶ ἔσχε αὐτὸς τὰ συν-
γεγραμμένα α[. . . .] . . ν̣ . α̣λ[. . .] γῆ μὴ ἀναχθεῖσα ἀμπέλῳ
ἄχρι τούτου δ[13 letters]ημ̣ . . ας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐποικίου
καὶ ἐτε̣[ρ 16 „ ὁ] ἀντιτεταγμένος κ̣αὶ . . [. .
ουκολ̣[18 „]ατος καὶ δραχμὰ̣[ς . . . . .
40 κοσία[ς 16 „ μ]ε̣νας ὑπό τινος γε̣[. . . . . .
Δημη̣[τρία 15 „]απ̣[. . . . . .]ν απ̣[. . . . . .
αὐτὸν τ̣[17 „] . δη[
λωσ̣ . [
τῷ κ (ἔτει) [
. . . . . .

9. κα of κατα written above πα. 17. l. νεώτερος. μ of αντιτετ[α]γμε corr. from λ? 22. αι of τελεσαι written above η. 27. In the left margin against this line is an oblique dash. 36. α of αλ[corr. and λ above the line over a deleted letter.

Col. ii. 'Plutarchus son of . . . against Philinus and Antistius, both sons of . . ., of Oxyrhynchus. Sarapion, advocate for Plutarchus, said :—My client Plutarchus leased from Demetria a property in the Oxyrhynchite nome following upon (?) a lease previously made with Demetria by Philinus, the younger of our opponents, who rented from her for 6 years from the 14th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord a vineyard and orchard at the village of Seruphis in accordance with a written agreement, in which it was stated that in the first four years he should be charged no rent but only pay the taxes on condition of his planting vines over the whole of the open space in the vineyard, that for the remaining two years he should pay the rent set forth in the lease, that he should restore on a certain scale the walls (?) of the vineyard and orchard, and on receiving from Demetria 2000 drachmae should build on a fixed scale a new wheel of baked brick. It appears that having taken the 2000 drachmae he did not make the wheel according to the stated scale, but left it uncompleted and entirely neglected the vineyard, not even putting up the walls round it. In these circumstances in the 19th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord Antistius became surety on behalf of his brother Philinus for all the obligations of the lease and himself took over . . .'

4. ἔκτακτα: cf. **646** ἃ ἔσται καὶ ἔκτακτον τοῦ . . . ἀφήλικος.

8–9. The value of the two pairs of βόες, 460 drachmae, was apparently included in the 2000 drachmae received by Philinus from Demetria (cf. ll. 26–9), and l. 9 is probably to be restored τιμὴ ὧν ἔχω παρὰ τῆς] Δημητρίας ζευ(γῶν) β βοῶν (δραχμαὶ) υξ. Cf. **729**. 39 sqq., where βόες are a good deal more expensive. καταθη might perhaps be read τὰ καθή[κοντα (?), the κα being above the line.

10. σύμφυτα: cf. **729**. 22. ἔμφορος is otherwise known only from Hesychius, ἔμφορα· προβεβλημένα· ἀγέλη προβάτων, where commentators have supposed some corruption.

15–7. The restoration of these lines, which involve the relations of Plutarchus to Demetria and the brothers, is a doubtful matter. If Δημητρία is made the subject of προπεποίηται, the nominatives ὁ νεότερος . . . μισθωσάμενος, are left suspended. We are

therefore inclined to read Δημητρίᾳ, connecting ὁ νεώτερος with προπεποίηται, and suggest ὕπαρξιν [ἀρουρῶν . . . . . ἐξ ἧς τῇ αὐτ]ῇ (or σὺν τ]ῇ) Δημητρίᾳ προπεποίηται τοῖς [ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις μισθ]ώσεω[ς], κ.τ.λ. π]ερὶ τὸν Ὀξυρυγχείτην is unusual; ἐν τῷ Ὀ. would be expected.

23. διάψειλον γῆν: this phrase, which here occurs for the first time, throws light upon two passages in the B. G. U. which have hitherto remained unexplained (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 404). These are entries in two very closely related taxing-lists from Socnopaei Nesus, B. G. U. 10. 8 ψυγμοῦ καὶ διαψείλ(ου or -ων) (ἀρουρῶν) νδ and 277. ii. 5 διαψυγμάτων καὶ διαψείλων πρὸς ἐλαιῶ(νι) (ἀρουρῶν) νδ, the heading in each case being followed by two or three names. The 54 arourae are evidently the same in both documents, and consisted of a ψυγμός or διαψύγματα (cf. P. Tebt. 86. 45 and **522**. 4) and διάψειλα or διάψειλος γῆ, upon which certain payments had to be made by the persons named. How διάψιλος differed from ψιλὴ γῆ, if at all, does not appear. The word is found in Hesychius, ψηνός· ψεδνός, διάψιλος.

25. ἀνειλημμένα: the verb recurs in the same unusual sense in l. 35. B. G. U. 277. ii. 10 οἱ φό(ροι) ἐν οὐσιακῷ λόγῳ ἀναλαμβάνονται is hardly parallel.

26. πωμαρίου is of course the Latin *pomarium*. The use of πλάτας here is strange. The word πλάτας or πλάτης occurs in several inscriptions from Aphrodisias (e. g. C. I. G. 2824; cf. Boeckh's remarks *ad loc.*) meaning apparently the substructure of a funerary monument. Here the πλάται seem to be surrounding walls; cf. l. 32 τὰς πλάτας περιβεβληκέναι.

37. Apparently not]ημενας. The supposed δ of δέ is more like α.

708. Two Letters to a Strategus.

19·2 × 9·7 *cm.* A.D. 188.

The recto of this papyrus contains part of an account of corn, very large amounts in artabae (e.g. 168, 486 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{48}$) being mentioned, as well as the κ]ατασπ(ορὰ) κθ (ἔτους), which refers to the reign of Commodus more probably than to that of Caracalla. On the verso are copies of two letters from Antonius Aelianus, a high official whose rank is not stated, but who was probably epistrategus or dioecetes, to the strategus of the Diospolite nome in the Thebaid, stating that two ship-loads of wheat from that nome had on examination proved to be adulterated with barley and earth, and ordering the strategus to exact the deficiency from the sitologi responsible for it. From a mention of a chiliarch in l. 13 it appears that the corn was required for military purposes. The first letter, which is practically complete, is dated in the 29th year, probably of the reign of Commodus. The second follows the same formula, so far as it goes.

[ ]κ
[Ἀντ]ώνιος Αἰλιανὸς στρα(τηγῷ) Διοπ(ολίτου) Θηβ(αίδος) χα(ίρειν).
[τοῦ] καταχθέντος γόμου ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομοῦ

[διὰ .]αὑσιος Σιπῶτος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαις) ʼB
5 [ἐν τῇ] τ[ῶ]ν δειγμάτων ἄρσει οὐ καθαροῦ φανέντος
[ἐκ]έλευσα ἡμιαρτάβιον κριθολογηθῆναι
[καὶ] βωλολογηθῆναι, καὶ ἐξέβη ἔλασσον
[κρι]θῆς μὲν [[(ἀρτάβαι)]] ἑκατοσταὶ δύο βώλου δὲ ὁμοί-
[ως ἑ]κατοστῆς ἥμισυ. τοὺς [ο]ὖν τὸν πυρὸν [ἐ]μβα-
10 [λο]μένους σιτολόγους πρᾶξον τῷ σῷ κινδύνῳ
[τὰ]ς συναγο(μένου) σίτο(υ) διαφόρῳ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ν (ἥμισυ) δ' κα[ὶ] τὰ
[προ]σμ(ετρούμενα) καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας, καὶ προσθέμε-
[νος] τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ χι(λιάρχου) δήλωσόν μοι. (ἔτους) κθ Φαῶ(φι) λ.
[ ] ἐκο(μισάμην ?) δύο, / β.

15 [ἄλλ]ης. Ἀντώνιος Αἰλιανὸς στρα(τηγῷ) Διοπ(ολίτου) Θηβ(αίδος) χα(ίρειν).
[τοῦ] καταχθέντος γόμου ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομ(οῦ) διὰ
[. . .]νυχου [Π]ανγορσαούιος ἐν (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαις) σν
[ἐν τ]ῇ τῶν δ[ει]γμ[ά]των ἄρσει οὐ καθαρ[οῦ φανέν-
[το]ς ἐκέλευσα (ἥμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) κριθο(λογηθῆναι) καὶ βωλο[λ]ογηθ(ῆναι)
[καὶ ἐξέβ(η)
20 [ἔλασ]σον κριθῆς μὲν ἑκατοστὴ αδ' [βώλου δὲ ὁμ(οίως) .
[τοὺς] οὖν τὸν [π]υρὸν ἐμβαλομένους [σιτολ(όγους) πρᾶξον
[τῷ σῷ] κινδύ(νῳ) [τ]ὰς συναγο(μένου) σ(ίτου) δ[ια]φ(όρῳ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας)
[. . καὶ τὰ

. . . . . .

2–13. 'Antonius Aelianus to the strategus of the Diospolite nome in the Thebaid, greeting. Since the cargo dispatched from the nome under you in charge of [.]ausis son of Sipos and his companions, amounting to 2000 artabae of wheat, appeared at the weighing of the samples to have been adulterated, I ordered that the amount of barley and earth in half an artaba of it should be ascertained, and it proved to be under measure by 2 per cent. of barley and likewise $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of earth. Accordingly exact at your own risk from the sitologi who shipped the wheat the difference on the whole amount of the corn, $50\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of wheat, and the extra payments and other expenses, and when you have added this total to the account of the chiliarch let me know. The 29th year, Phaophi 30.'

11. ν (ἥμισυ) δ': $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on 2000 artabae (l. 4) is 50 artabae, so Antonius Aelianus has added on $\frac{3}{4}$ art.

13. χι(λιάρχου): or perhaps (δεκαδά)ρ(χου). The ι is drawn through the χ.

14. The meaning of this line is obscure. For ἐκο(μισάμην) cf. P. Petrie II. 12 (1) verso. β might be read instead of κ, and there is a horizontal stroke above ο. ἑκα(τοσταί) cannot be read. ἐπιστολάς is apparently to be supplied after δύο.

709. Tour of Inspection.

14·7 × 11·5 *cm.* About A.D. 50.

This fragment of a letter gives some important geographical information about Egypt in the first century. It describes a tour of inspection throughout the country about to be taken by a high official, probably the praefect or δικαιοδότης. Starting from a place which is not mentioned (Alexandria ?), he was to go first to Pelusium, thence through the nomes situated along the eastern side of the Delta, the Tanite and Sethroite, Arabia, and another nome, not previously found in Greek (l. 6, note), to Memphis. Next he was to travel direct to the Thebaid, and come back through the Heptanomis, the Arsinoite nome, and the other nomes in the Delta which he had not visited on his upward journey, finally reaching Alexandria. The chief point of interest is the mention of the Heptanomis and Arsinoite nome. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. pp. 423–7) attributes the creation of the Heptanomis to the period between A. D. 68, when the edict of Tiberius Alexander seems to be ignorant of its existence, and 130, and adopts the view of Schwarz (*Rhein. Mus.* 1896, p. 637) that the Arsinoite nome originally belonged to the Heptanomis, but was separated from it by Hadrian to make room for the newly-founded Antinoite nome. The papyrus, however, which quite certainly belongs to the first century and yet mentions the Arsinoite nome as distinct from the Heptanomis, disposes of Schwarz's hypothesis altogether, and pushes back the latest possible date of the creation of the Heptanomis far into the first century. The handwriting of the papyrus is by no means of a late first century type, and we should assign it to the reign of Claudius or Nero rather than to that of one of the Flavian emperors. In any case it is now clear, on the one hand, that the Arsinoite nome was on account of its isolated position never reckoned in the Heptanomis, and on the other, that some hitherto unsuspected nome belonged to the Heptanomis before the creation of the Ἀντινοίτης. The most probable explanation is that Antinoite was a new name given to a previously existing nome, and that Hadrian only did what Ptolemy Philadelphus had done in the case of the λιμνή (Rev. Laws, p. xlix). Strabo, who is a little earlier than the papyrus, does not help; but his list of nomes has not so far accorded very well with the evidence of Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.

. . . . . .

[. . . . . .]σ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ . [.] τὸ λογιστήρι[ον . . . . .

[διαλο]γισμοῦ ἐστάθηι ἵνα τῇ [. . . . . .
[. . . . .]ων τὸν ἀνάπλουν ποιήσηται καὶ
[. . . . .] εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀπελθὼν διαλο-
5 [γίσητ]αι Τανίτην Σεθροίτην Ἀραβίαν
[Αὐ]ίαν, ἐν Μένφει γενόμενος ὁμοίως
Θηβαίδαν ἑπτὰ νομοὺς Ἀρσινοίτην,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῆς κάτωι χώρας ν[ομοὺς
εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ταῦτα δὲ ω[. . . . .
10 ἐστάθηι εἰς δὲ τὰ λογιστήριά τινα
κατ' ἄνδρα πάντων τῶν απ[. . . . . .
αἰτούμ[μ]εθα. λοιπὸν οὖν ε[. . . . . .
. [. . . . γ]ραμματεῖς ἄχρι . [. . . . . .
[. . . . .] ἄσποροι τῆς δι . ωτ[. . . . . .
15 [. . . . . σ]ταλείσας . [
[. . . . . .]τα δα . [
[. . . . . .]ι[
. . . . . .

On the verso Θέωνι δ[

3. Second η of ποιησηται corr. from α. 6. μ of μενφει corr. from φ.

6. [Αὐ]ίαν (or possibly [Α]ΐαν) was suggested by Mr. Griffith. It refers to the district called in hieroglyphics *'An* situated on the Eastern side of the Delta (Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* p. 119), and known to Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 29) *a sinu Laeanitico* (l. *Aelanitico*) *alter sinus quem Arabes Aean vocant in quo Heroon oppidum est.* Brugsch considers it to have been part of the Memphite nome.

710. Order for Payment.

Fr. (*a*) 7 × 13·5 *cm.* B.C. 111.

This papyrus, which is one of the few Ptolemaic documents found at Oxyrhynchus, contained an order, probably addressed to a royal bank by an official, to pay various sums of money to 47 persons. Of these 44 were carrying documents, and they were accompanied by a ὡρογράφος, i. e. a precis-writer, a title not hitherto found on a papyrus, an ἔφοδος who acted as escort, and

a 'camel-man,' this being one of the rare references to the use of camels in the Ptolemaic period. The 7th year mentioned in l. 5 must on palaeographical grounds belong to the reign of Ptolemy Soter II. In Fr. (*b*) ὡρογράφω·, ἐφόδωι or καμηλίτηι is probably to be supplied at the beginnings of ll. 7 and 8.

(*a*)

. . . . . .
[. . . . . .] χρημ[ά]τισ[ον το]ῖ[ς
ἐν τῶι Ὀξυρυγχίτηι βυβλιαφόροις
ἀνδράσι μδ ὡρογράφωι α
ἐφόδωι α καμηλίτηι α, / μζ,
5 τοῦ Θωὺθ τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) κατὰ
. . . . . .

(*b*)

. . . .
] (ταλαντ) [
] α (τάλαντον) α [
] α (τάλαντον) α [
. . . .

711. Census-List.

7 × 18·5 *cm.* About B.C. 14.

A fragment from an official statement or list connected with the census and poll-tax. There are parts of two columns, but the first has only the ends of lines (not printed), and the second is, unfortunately, disfigured by lacunae which deprive it of much of its value, though any fresh items of information may be welcomed on the interesting question of the Egyptian census in the early years of Augustus. The existing evidence on the subject was collected in P. Oxy. II. pp. 207–14, where it was shown that the fourteen years' census-cycle could be traced back with security to A.D. 19–20, and with probability to A.D. 5–6 and B.C. 10–9, but no further, although censuses and poll-tax are attested still earlier in Augustus' reign, and now appear from the Tebtunis papyri (103, introd.) to go far back into the first century B.C. The present document mentions certain 'youths (ἐφηβευκότες) registered (or 'entered') on a poll-tax list by us (the λαογράφοι?) in the 15th year of Caesar,' ἐφηβευκότες in this context probably meaning boys above the age of fourteen, when they became liable to the tax in question. Reference is also made to a wrong entry in a previous list of some persons 'as having . . . before the 6th year.' This is too vague to be of much use; but the 6th year (B.C. 25–4) would seem to be a recognized landmark in the history of the census or the poll-tax, and some important step in the reorganization of the system may possibly have then been made. The

6th year, however, does not fall in with the fourteen years' cycle, being one year too early.

On the verso of the papyrus are parts of two columns, written not much later than the recto, of a series of names with some figures opposite, no doubt a taxing-list of some kind, and not improbably also concerned with the poll-tax.

. . . . . .
ἕ̣κ̣α̣σ̣τ̣α . . [. . .] . [. . . . . .]α̣ρ̣[
τας ὁμοίως κατὰ τὸ παρὸν . . . [. .]μενα . [. . .]σ̣[. . .]α̣.
καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ὑφ' ἡμ̣ῶν ἐπὶ το̣ῦ̣ ιε (ἔτους) Καίσαρος λελα-
ου
ογραφημένων ε̣π̣[. . .]φ̣[. .]ων ἐφηβευκό[τω]ν̣ ως
5 καὶ ἐκ παραλογισμ[οῦ . . .] . μενος ὡς πρ[ὸ τ]οῦ
ϛ (ἔτους) Καίσαρο[ς . .]φ̣[. . . .]των π̣[.]ρ̣ων ε[. . . . . .]ν[. .]
ὁμο[
. . . . . .

2. τας may be the article and connected with the participle following παρόν, or the termination of a word in the previous line like τελοῦντας. Cf. P. Tebt. 103. 1–3 λαογρ(αφία) . . . τελού[ντ]ων σύνταξιν, and τελῶν (so Wilcken) σύνταξιν in P. Grenf. I. 45. 8.

4.]φ[is quite doubtful, since all that remains of the letter is part of a long vertical stroke projecting above the lacuna, which might equally well represent e.g. the sign for ἔτος. But it does not seem possible to get either another year or a conjunction into the short space available, and we therefore conclude that λελαογραφημένων and ἐφηβευκότων are to be taken together, with some qualifying term between them; ἐπ' [ἀμ]φ[όδ]ων might suit. At the end of the line ως with ου written above the ω is difficult; if οὕς was intended the accusative may be governed by] . μενος in l. 5.

5–6. ὡς πρ[ὸ τ]οῦ ϛ (ἔτους): cf. similar instances of the use of πρό in **257**. 25, **481**. 15.

712. Collection of a Debt.

11·5 × 10·3 *cm.* Late second century.

The imperfect condition of this papyrus is much to be deplored, for if more complete it would probably have gone far to solve the uncertainties attaching to the functions of that much discussed official, the ξενικῶν πράκτωρ. As it is, the lines being throughout incomplete both at the beginnings and ends, and the amount lost being shown by ll. 12–3 to exceed 40 letters between each line, the papyrus whets our curiosity without satisfying it. There are two documents,

the first written (ll. 9 sqq.) being an application to the overseers of the ξενικῶν πρακτορία of the Athribite nome from a member of the Sosicosmian tribe, stating that he had in A. D. 146–7 lent 300 drachmae at interest to two brothers, called Potamon and Pathermouthis, upon the security of some house-property at Monthmereu. Repayment not having been made at the proper time, a writ was served upon the brothers (ll. 16–7), but since this had no effect, the applicant requests the overseers to foreclose upon the house and exact payment (ll. 18–21). In the margin above this application is (ll. 1–7) a letter from the overseers to the keepers of the record office, apparently requesting them to take possession of the property and collect the debt and interest, as well as the miscellaneous charges for collection made by the State. The title, ἐπιτηρηταὶ ξενικῶν πρακτορίας, is new, and, since ἐπιτηρηταί are generally connected with ὠναί, suggests that the profits made by the State from collecting debts were farmed out, like most other revenues. That this was actually the case is proved by **825**, an account rendered to the μισθωταὶ ξενικῶν πρακτορίας by one of their πραγματευταί. By the second century therefore, at any rate, the functions which in the Ptolemaic period and perhaps still in the first century A. D. seem to have been combined in the person of the ξενικῶν πράκτωρ (cf. P. Tebt. 5. 221, note, and **286**), were divided, and we find side by side the parallel bodies of official ἐπιτηρηταί and private μισθωταί with subordinate πραγματευταί. But while **712** and **825** are a valuable illustration of the second term in the phrase ξενικῶν πρακτορία, they throw little light upon the first, in which the main difficulty lies. The explanation of ξενικῶν which we offered (*ll. cc.*) that it means debts contracted by ξένοι, i. e. persons living at places outside the district to which they properly belonged, still remains the only one which rests on the evidence of parallels from the use of ξένος in papyri, though it is not clear why e. g. in P. Tebt. 5. 221 debts of ξένοι should be a subject of legislation and not debts in general. Our hypothesis gains some support from the circumstance—which may be a mere accident, but if so is a very remarkable coincidence—that both **712** and **825** have to do with debts from persons who were not living in the Oxyrhynchite nome. In **712** the ἐπιτηρηταί belong to the Athribite nome, but about the property distrained upon the only fact that is certain is that it was not in the Oxyrhynchite nome (Μωνθμερεύ and its toparchy, Νορασείτης, in l. 20, are both unknown), while the nome to which the officials addressed by the ἐπιτηρηταί belonged, as well as that of the writer of the application, is doubtful; cf. notes on ll. 1 and 13. In **825** the πραγματευτής was concerned with the Memphite nome, but that the μισθωταί belonged to the Oxyrhynchite nome has only a general probability resting on the provenance of the document.

The date of the papyrus is lost, but it was certainly posterior to the 10th

year of Antoninus mentioned in l. 13 (cf. ll. 16–8), and may be as late as the beginning of Commodus' reign ; cf. note on l. 7.

καὶ ων ἐπιτη(ρηταὶ) ξενικ(ῶν) πρα]κτ(ορείας) Ἀθρε[ιβ(ίτου)]
βι[βλ]ιοφύλ(αξιν) ἐ[γκ]τ(ήσεων) [.]ατο[. .] . [
]ομως παραδείξεως ὑφ' ἣν ἔστιν ε . [
] κατάσχετε οὖν πρὸς ἐνεχυρασίαν ἣν παρεδ[
Παθερμοῦθις καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς] αὐτοῦ Ποτάμων Θανώχιος τοῦ [.]ξ . ητιος ἀπὸ . [
5 *τὴν ὑπ]άρχουσαν αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Παθερ-*
⟨μ⟩ούθι οἰκ[ίαν καὶ αὐλὴν
] ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) τ καὶ τόκους καὶ τέλη
καὶ δαπ(άνας), πρω(τοπραξίας) οὔση(ς) τῷ δη(μοσίῳ) κα[ὶ
(ἔτους) . .] // Παῦνι κ.

2nd hand *καὶ ω]νι ἐπιτηρηταῖς ξενικῶν πρακτορίας Ἀθρε[ίβιτου*
παρὰ]ωνος τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου Σωσικοσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλι[
10 *]ν χρη[μ]ατισμὸν ἐνεχυρασίας ὧν τὸ ἕτερον ἀν[*
ἐ]πὶ πράξεως τῶν ὀφειλομένων μο[ι ὑ]πὸ Ποτά-
μωνος [Θανώχιος τοῦ . . . ητιος,
καὶ τοῦ Ποτάμωνος ἀδ]ελφοῦ Παθερμούθιος ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης κατὰ
δημόσ[ιον χρηματισμὸν γεγονότα
διὰ τοῦ ἐν πόλει ἀρ]χείου τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτε[ι Ἀν]τωνείνου Καίσαρος
το[ῦ κυρίου
]νου τοῦ Ποτ[άμ]ω[νος δραχμ]ῶν ἑκατὸν τόκων
δραχμι[αίων
15 *]..φ[.].ερ[.].ἐξ ἀλληλ[εγγύ]ης ἀργυρίου δραχμ[ῶν*
διακοσίων
τῆς ἀποδό]σεως μὴ γεγονυείης με[τα]δοθέντος τε τοῦ τῆς
ἐνεχυ[ρασίας ἀντιγράφου
Παθερμούθι καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ] αὐτοῦ Πο[τ]άμωνι διὰ Εἰρ[η]νίωνος ὑπηρέτου
τῇ ιη τ[οῦ
καὶ διελ]θόντο[ς] πλείονος χρόνου ἀντὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ προστ[
κατασχεῖν πρὸς ἐν]εχ[υρ]ασίαν τῷ ἰδίῳ μου κινδύνῳ τοῦ Ποτάμωνος κατατ[
20 *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν] αὐτῷ ἐν κώμῃ Μωνθμερεὺ τοῦ Νορασείτου ἄνω οἰκίαν*
κα[ὶ αὐλὴν

ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τ]ριακοσίας καὶ τόκους κ[α]ὶ τέ[λ]η καὶ πρακτορικὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλα[ς δαπάνας
]ια τοῦ ο̣[. . . . . .] Σ̣ουλπικίου Σ̣ιμί̣[λ]ε̣ω̣ς̣ δι̣[

. . . . . .

1. [Λ]ατο[πολίτου is possible at the end of the line.

7. The occurrence of two dashes after the number of the regnal year and the omission of the Emperor's name point to a date in Commodus' reign, when both these practices became common. The difficulty is that the debt was contracted in A.D. 146–7; cf. l. 13. The mention of Sulpicius Similis in l. 22 recalls the praefect of that name in **237**. viii. 27, whose date is not certain; cf. p. 262.

13. ἀρ]χείου: the use of this term suggests that Oxyrhynchus was not meant, since there ἀγορανομεῖον or μνημονεῖον are the more usual terms, though an ἀρχεῖον probably at Oxyrhynchus is found in **509**. 3.

(*b*) APPLICATIONS TO OFFICIALS.

713. Claim of Ownership.

38·5 × 9 *cm.* A.D. 97.

A declaration addressed to the keepers of the record office by a certain Leonides, requesting the formal registration (παράθεσις) of his prospective right to some property at present in the ownership of his mother. The claim to the property in question depended upon the marriage contract of the writer's parents, in which their joint possessions were secured (κατέσχον) on their demise to their children. The father had died, and his property had been duly divided between Leonides and his brother and sister. The mother was still living, and had already made over two-thirds of her real estate to this brother and sister upon the marriage of the pair. Leonides, who was probably the younger son, therefore wished that note should be taken of this division, and that his own title to the remaining third of the property should be placed on record.

The document is dated in Phamenoth of the 1st year of Nerva, i.e. A.D. 97. It is not known that a general ἀπογραφή of real property occurred in that year, while **481** shows that such a registration took place in A.D. 99. There is evidence that general ἀπογραφαί, separated only by a two years' interval, were held in A.D. 129 and 131 (**75**, **715**, B.G.U. 420, &c.), but that these both

affected the same nome is not yet ascertained. Pending further data it will therefore be best to suppose that the present was a special declaration called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the case.

1st hand παρετέθ(η).
Δημητρίωι καὶ Ἀπολλω[ν]ίωι καὶ
Διογένει βιβλιοφύ(λαξι)
2nd hand παρὰ Λεωνίδου Διοδώρου τοῦ
5 Διοδώρου μητρὸς Σαραεῦτος Λεω-
νίδου ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.
καθ' ἣν οἱ γονεῖς μου Διόδωρος Δι[ο-
δώρου τοῦ Ἀγαθείνου καὶ Σαραεῦς
Λεωνίδου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μη-
10 τρὸς Ἰσιδώρας Κάλα ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως πεποίηνται πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους τοῦ γάμου συγγραφὴν διὰ
τοῦ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει ἀγορανο-
μίου τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει θεοῦ
15 Κλαυδίου μηνὶ Σεβαστῷ κατέσ-
χον τῇ ἐξ ἀλλήλων γενεᾷ τὰ
ἑαυτῶν πάντα πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τὴν
τελευτὴν αὐτῶν βεβαίως καὶ
ἀναφαιρέτως εἶναι τῶν τέκνων,
20 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐπ' ἐ-
μοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς μου Διοδώρῳ
καὶ Θαίδι καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς
κατήντησε, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἀφ' ὧν
ἔχει περὶ μὲν Νέσλα ἀρουρῶν
25 ἐννέα ἡμίσους περὶ δὲ {περὶ δὲ}
Πεεννὼ ἐκ τῆς Θρασυμάχου παρ-
ειμένης ἀρουρῶν δύο ἡμίσους
τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρουρῶν δεκά-
δυο ἐμέρισε τοῖς προγεγραμμέ-
30 νοις μου ἀδελφο[ῖ]ς ἀπὸ τῶν πε-
ρὶ Νέσλα ἑκατέρῳ ἀρούρας τέσσα-

ρας διὰ τῆς περὶ γάμου αὐτοῦ συγγρα-
[φῆς] αἵ εἰσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν προκειμέ-
νων ἀρουρῶν δεκάδυο, ἀπογρά-
35 φομαι καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς παράθεσιν
κατοχὴν τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς μη-
τρὸς ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων. ἡ δὲ προ-
κειμένη τῶν γονέων μου συγγρα-
φή ἐστιν ἔνθεσμος καὶ ἀπερί-
40 λυτος εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν.
(ἔτους) α Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος Νερ[ούα] [Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ (1st hand) Φαμενὼθ ιθ.

3rd hand Δημήτριος σεση(μείωμαι). ἔτους πρώτου
Αὐτοκράτορος Νερούα Καίσαρος
45 Σεβαστοῦ Φαμενὼθ ιθ.

8. Second α of σαρᾶευς corr.

'Inserted on the register.

To Demetrius and Apollonius and Diogenes, keepers of the records, from Leonides son of Diodorus son of Diodorus, his mother being Saraeus daughter of Leonides, of Oxyrhynchus. My parents, Diodorus son of Diodorus son of Agathinus, and Saraeus daughter of Leonides son of Alexander, her mother being Isidora daughter of Calas, of the said city, in accordance with the contract of marriage made between them through the record office of the said city in the month Sebastus of the 12th year of the deified Claudius settled upon their joint issue the whole of their property, in order that after their death it might be the secure and inalienable possession of their children; and whereas my father died leaving me and my brother and sister, Diodorus and Thais, his heirs, and his property devolved upon us, and whereas our mother possesses at Nesla $9\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and at Peënno $2\frac{1}{2}$ arourae of the concessional (?) land of Thrasymachus, together making 12 arourae, and bestowed upon my brother and sister aforesaid through their marriage contract 4 each of the arourae at Nesla, that is one-third of the aforesaid 12 arourae: I too declare for registration my right to the remaining 4 arourae of my mother; and the aforesaid contract of my parents remains in force and uncancelled to the present day. The 1st year of the Emperor Nerva Caesar Augustus, Pharmenoth 19.' Signature of Demetrius and date.

1. παρατιθέναι and παράθεσις (cf. l. 35 below) are specially used of the declaration and registration through the βιβλιοφύλακες of claims to property. The verb has this technical sense e.g. in **237**. iv. 38 παρατίθεσθαι διὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακίου and viii. 34 παρατιθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Cf. also B. G. U. 73. 10 sqq. ἐπιστείλας τοῖς . . . [β]ιβλιοφύλαξιν . . . π[οιήσασθ]αι τὰ τῆς παραθέσεως, and 243. 9 ἐπιδίδωμι εἰς τὸ τὴν παράθεσιν γενέσθαι, and 14 προπαρακεί(μενον) διὰ τοῦ βιβλ(ιοφυλακίου)[1].

[1] The editor reads κωλ(ύειν), but this makes no sense, and the correction proposed, which is palaeographically very close, seems in the light of the passages quoted above practically secure. The context in the Berlin papyrus further requires a negative like μηδέν in place of καὶ τῷ before ἔσεσθαι ἐμπόδιον.

12. The marriage contract referred to contained also testamentary dispositions; cf. C. P. R. 28. 8 sqq.

20. *ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς*: sc. *κληρονόμοις*; cf. **481**. 17–8, &c.

26. *τῆς Θρασυμάχου παρειμένης*: *παριέναι* as a technical term applied to land seems to be new, and the present passage gives no clue to the meaning; perhaps 'conceded to' or 'abandoned.'

714. Selection of Boys (*ἐπίκρισις*).

Fr. (*a*) 4·2 × 5, Fr. (*b*) 29 × 5 *cm.* A.D. 122.

An application addressed to a variety of officials by an Oxyrhynchite who enjoyed the privilege of paying a reduced poll-tax of 12 drachmae, requesting that a slave who had been born in his house and had reached the age of thirteen might be placed on the same privileged list. This papyrus thus confirms the evidence of **478** and B. G. U. 324, that the liability of slaves in respect of poll-tax was determined by that of their owners. A discussion of the general question of *ἐπίκρισις* is given in P. Oxy. II. pp. 217 sqq.

This papyrus is interesting palaeographically, being carefully written in a semi-uncial hand approximating to the sloping oval type, examples of which are often too indiscriminately assigned to the third century.

. . . . . .
Φιλονείκωι [τῶι
καὶ Ἑρμοδώρῳ βα[σ(ιλικῷ)
γρα(μματεῖ) καὶ Διονυσίῳ καὶ
ἑτέρῳ Διονυσίῳ
5 *βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι) καὶ ἐπικριταῖς*
καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐξηγη(τεύσαντι)
γρα(μματεῖ) πόλ(εως)
πα[ρὰ] Ἀ̣π̣ο̣λ̣[λωνίου
. . . . . .
[. . . . . *ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-*]
10 [*χων πόλεως ἐπ' ἀμ-*]
[*φόδου Νότου Κρη-*]
πεῖδος [. . . . . .
ρος δοῦ[λός μου
20 *Καίσαρος τοῦ*
κυρίου, ὅθεν δ[η-
λῶ εἶναί με (δωδεκάδραχμον)
διὰ λαογραφί[ας
β (ἔτους) Ἁδριανοῦ
25 *Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υρίο(υ)*
ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ἀμ-
φόδου καὶ ὀμν[ύω
Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρα
Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν
30 *Ἁδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν*
μὴ ἔψευσθαι. (ἔτους) ϛ
Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τραια-
νοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ

οἰκογε[νὴς ἐκ
15 δούλη[ς . . . . . .
τρ[[.]]υ . [. . . προσ-
βέβηκε[ν εἰς (τρισκαιδεκαέτεις)
τῷ διελθ[όντι
ε (ἔτει) Ἁδρια[νοῦ
35 Σεβαστοῦ Με-
χεὶρ κ.

2nd hand κατεχ(ωρίσθη)
ἐπικ(ρίταις), χρό(νος) ὁ αὐ(τός).

'To Philonicus also called Hermodorus, basilico-grammateus, and Dionysius and a second Dionysius, keepers of the archives and officers in charge of the selection, and to Apollonius, ex-exegetes and scribe of the city, from Apollonius . . . of the city of Oxyrhynchus, living in the West Quay quarter. My slave . . . , born in the house to my female slave . . . , has reached the age of 13 years in the past 5th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord. I therefore declare that I am rated at 12 drachmae by a poll-tax list of the 2nd year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord at the said quarter, and I swear by the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus that I have made no false statement.' Date and docket of registration.

1–7. The papyrus is incomplete at the top and there are traces of ink above the first line, so no doubt the strategus (cf. **257**. 14) preceded the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς. It is noteworthy that only two persons in this long list of officials, namely the βιβλιοφύλακες, are called ἐπικρίται (cf. P. Fay. Towns 27. 3, and B. G. U. 562. 15, where ἐπικ(ρίτου) should be read); while **478** is addressed to the βιβλιοφύλακες alone. The βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς recurs in this connexion in **257**. 15 and B. G. U. 562. 17. Applications of this class from the Fayûm are usually sent to ex-gymnasiarchs ὄντες πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει.

13–4. The supplements hardly fill the available space, but the lines vary a good deal in length.

23. διὰ λαογραφί[ας: cf. **478**. 22–3 (δωδεκάδραχμον) δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας.

37–8. A similar docket occurs in **478**, and ἐπικρίταις may now be supplied there at the end of l. 49 on the analogy of the present papyrus; cf. also **786**.

715. Registration of Property.

30·7 × 11·5 *cm.* A.D. 131.

A return of house-property in the Heracleopolite nome, addressed, as usual, to the keepers of the archives, in A.D. 131, when a general ἀπογραφή of real property took place; cf. B. G. U. 420 and 459, and **237**. viii. 31, note. The formula is practically the same as that found in the Oxyrhynchus returns, e.g. **75** and **481**. At the end is a docket of the βιβλιοφύλαξ.

Ἡρᾶι καὶ Ὠριγένει γεγυμ(νασιαρχηκόσι) βιβλιοφύλακι ἐνκτή(σεων) Ἡρα-
κλεοπ(ολίτου)
παρὰ Γοργίου καὶ Γαλέστου ἀμφοτέρων
Πολέμωνος τοῦ Γοργίου μητρὸς Διονυσιά-
5 *δος τῆς Γαλέστου τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης*
Τοεμίσεως. ἀπογραφόμεθα ἰδίωι
κινδύνωι κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου εἰς τὸ ἐνε[σ-
τὸς ιε (ἔτος) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα τὰ ἐληλυθότ(α)
10 *εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ὀνόματος τοῦ μετηλ-*
λαχότος ἡμῶν πατρὸς Πολέμωνος
Γοργίου μητρὸς Ταποντῶτος ἀπὸ
τῆς αὐτῆς Τοεμίσεως, τὸ ἐπιβάλλ[ον
αὐτῶι ἐν τῆι αὐτῇ Τοεμίσει τρίτον
15 *μέρος οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι*
μέρος ψιλοῦ τόπου, καὶ πρότερον
τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Ἑλένης Γοργίου
μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς Ταποντῶτος
κατὰ διαθήκην τὴν καὶ λυθεῖσαν
20 *τῶι ιβ (ἔτει) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*
περὶ κώμην Ἰβίωνα Παχνοῦβιν ἐκ τοῦ
Ζωίλου καὶ Νουμηνίου κλήρου γῆς
κατοικικῆς ἥμισυ τέταρτον
ὄγδουν καὶ περὶ Ψελεμαχ( ) ἐκ τοῦ Μενίπ-
25 *που καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου κλ(ήρου) γῆς κατοικ[ι]κῆ[ς*
ἀρούρης τέταρτον. καὶ ὀμνύομεν
τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τύχ(ην) καὶ τοὺ⟨ς⟩ πατρῴο(υς)
θεοὺς ἐξ ὑγ(είας) καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθ(είας) ἐπιδεδωκ(έναι) τὴν
30 *προκιμένη(ν) ἀπογραφὴ(ν) καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθ(αι)*
ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῶι ὅρκωι. (ἔτους) ιε
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου ἐπ[αγο(μένων) ε.
2nd hand *Γοργίας ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐπιδ[έδω-*

35 κα. (3rd hand) Ἡρᾶς γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκὼς) διὰ Ἱπποδ( ) γραμμ(ατέως) συσταθ(έντος)

κ̣[α]τακεχώ(ρικα) ἀδιακ(ρίτως ?) κινδ(ύνῳ) τῶν ἀπογρα(φομένων) μηδενὸς [δ]ημοσίου ἢ ἰδιωτικο(ῦ) καταβλαπ(τομένου). ἐπαγο(μένων) ε.

1. l. βιβλιοφύλαξι. 12. μη of μητρος corr. from του. 14. ω of αυτωι corr. from η. 18. ης of της corr. from απ. 24. l. ὄγδοον.

'To Heras and Origenes, ex-gymnasiarchs, keepers of the records of real property in the Heracleopolite nome, from Gorgias and Galestus both sons of Polemon son of Gorgias, their mother being Dionysias daughter of Galestus, from the village of Toëmisis. We register at our own risk jointly and equally for the present 15th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord in accordance with the command the property which has devolved upon us from our deceased father Polemon son of Gorgias and Tapontos, from the said Toëmisis, viz. the third share which fell to him of a house at the said Toëmisis and his share of a piece of open ground, and what previously belonged to his sister Helene daughter of Gorgias and the said Tapontos, in accordance with a will which was opened in the 12th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, near the village of Ibion Pachnoubis in the holding of Zoilus and Numenius $1\frac{7}{8}$ arourae of catoecic land, and near Pselemach( ) in the holding of Menippus and Artemidorus $\frac{1}{4}$ aroura of catoecic land. And we swear by the Fortune of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus and by our ancestral gods that we have honestly and truly presented the foregoing declaration and that we have made no false statement, or may we be liable to the penalties of the oath. The 15th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, 5th intercalary day of the month Caesareus. I, Gorgias the aforesaid, have presented the declaration. I, Heras ex-gymnasiarch, through Hippod( ), scribe, my representative, have entered it on the register jointly at the risk of the declaring parties, no public or private interests being injured. 5th intercalary day.'

10. Above the ο of ἀπό the scribe has written μη, which makes no sense and seems to be a mere error.

36. ἀδιακ(ρίτως) apparently corresponds to κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου in l. 7.

716. Auction of a Slave.

18·8 × 11·8 *cm.* A.D. 186.

An application to a gymnasiarch from the guardians of three minors for a public auction of their wards' respective shares, amounting to two-thirds in all, of a male slave. The remaining third part of the slave was the property of the minors' half-brother, but had been emancipated by him; and this combination of circumstances led to the present request for an auction (ὅθεν ἐπιδίδομεν, l. 18), though the legal point involved is not very clear. It is however certain, as Professor Mitteis remarks, that neither this papyrus nor **722**, where a partial

manumission is also concerned, can be brought under Roman law, according to which, at this period, in the case of a joint ownership of a slave, a manumitted share simply passed to the other owners (Ulpian, Fr. i. 18). There can therefore be only a question of Greek or Egyptian law; and in the absence of parallels recourse must be had to more or less probable hypotheses. At the outset a doubt arises whether or not the partial manumission was the direct cause of the public auction. It is quite possible that the parties concerned merely wished to wind up their joint ownership, and that the details respecting the liberated share are accidental. If, however, the manumission was an essential factor, as *ὅθεν* in l. 18 would rather indicate, the course here followed may be supposed to have been prescribed either in the interest of the slave or of the owners. In a sale by public auction the rights of a partially freed slave could be safeguarded in a manner which would not be practicable in a private treaty; and this consideration supplies a very likely explanation of the present proceedings. Or, on the other hand, as Mitteis suggests, a sale by auction would protect an owner who wished to retain his share of a slave against a partner or partners who desired manumission. A sale of this kind would place the larger owner at an advantage against the smaller, since the former, if successful, would pay the latter only a fraction of the purchase-money, while the higher the bid of the small owner the greater the sum due from him to the predominant partner.

Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ καὶ Σαραπίῳ[νι γυμν]ασιάρχῳ
[χαίρε]ιν
παρὰ Ὡρ[ί]ωνος Πανεχώτου τοῦ Δωρᾶτος μη-
τρὸς Ταοῦτος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Δωρίωνος
5 *τοῦ Ἡρᾶτος μητρὸς Θαήσιος καὶ Ἀβασκάντου*
ἀπελεύθερου Σάμου Ἡρακλείδου τῶν τριῶν
ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως ἐπιτρόπων ἀφηλί-
κων τέκνων Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Δι[ον]υσίου
Εὐδαιμονίδος μητρὸς Σινθεῦτος καὶ Δι-
10 *ονυσίου καὶ Θαήσιος ἀμφοτέρων μητρὸς*
Ταύριος τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ τ[ῆ]ς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
ὑπάρχει τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφ[ήλ]ιξι τῇ μὲν Εὐδαι-
μονίδι ἕκτον μέρος τῷ δὲ Διονυσίῳ καὶ
Θαήσει ἥμισυ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δίμοι[ρ]ον
15 *μέρος πατρικοῦ αὐτῶν δούλου Σαραπίω[νος*

ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τρίτον ὂν τοῦ ὁμοπα-
τρίου αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Διογένο[υ]ς ἠλευθέ-
ρωται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὅθεν ἐπιδίδομεν τὸ βιβλί-
διον ἀξιοῦντες κατὰ τὸ δηλούμενον
20 τῶν ἀφηλίκων δίμοιρον μέρος τὴν προ-
κήρυξιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀμείνονα
αἵρεσιν διδόντι παραδοθῆναι. (ἔτους) κζ
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
25 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ
Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου
Βρεταν[ι]κοῦ Θώθ. (2nd hand) Ὡρίων Πανεχώτου
ἐπιδέδωκα. (3rd hand) [Ἀπο]λλώνιο[ς Δω]ρίωνος συ[ν-
ἐπιδέδωκα. (4th hand) Ἀβάσκαντο[ς] ἀπελεύθερο[ς
30 Σάμου Ἡρακλείδου συνεπι[δέδ]ωκα. Δι[ο]γένης
Θέωνος το[ῦ] καὶ Διονυσίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲ[ρ αὐτοῦ
μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.

'To Asclepiades also called Sarapion, gymnasiarch, greeting, from Horion son of Panechotes son of Doras, his mother being Taous, and from Apollonius son of Dorion son of Heras, his mother being Thaësis, and from Abascantus, freedman of Samus son of Heraclides, all three of Oxyrhynchus and guardians of the children of Theon also called Dionysius, namely Eudaemonis, whose mother is Sintheus, and Dionysius and Thaësis, whose mother is Tauris, being minors and all three of the said city. The said minors own, Eudaemonis one-sixth and Dionysius and Thaësis a half, together two-thirds, of a slave of their father's named Sarapion, aged about 30 years, the remaining third share of whom, belonging to Diogenes their brother on the father's side, has been set free by him. We therefore present this memorandum requesting that in respect of (?) the aforesaid two-thirds a public auction should be held, and that the property should be handed over to the highest bidder. The 27th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, Thoth.' Signatures of Horion, Apollonius and Abascantus, that of the last-named being written for him by Diogenes son of Theon.

19–20. The exact meaning of this passage is uncertain owing to the ambiguity of *κατά*, which may be connected with either *ἀξιοῦντες* or *τὴν προκήρυξιν γενέσθαι*. In the former case *κατά* means 'because of,' and the request would be for the sale of the whole slave; in the latter *κατά* signifies 'in respect of' (cf. **722**. 14), and no more than the two-thirds would be involved,—a sense which would have been more clearly expressed by the simple genitive *τοῦ . . . μέρους*.

22. *αἵρεσιν διδόντι*: cf. B. G. U. 656, an advertisement of property to let, *οἱ βουλόμενοι μισθώσασθαι . . . προσερχέστωσαν τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις ἕρεσειν* (l. *αἵρεσιν*) *διδόντες*.

(*c*) PETITIONS.

717. Petition.

17·5 × 20·5 *cm.* Late 1st century B.C.

Part of a complaint addressed, no doubt, to some official, with reference to a dispute about the fairness of a measure between the writer, who seems to have been responsible for a cargo of corn, and another person. Owing to the imperfect condition of the papyrus, of which a preceding column or columns are lost, and of which only the first line is complete, the details are obscure. A curious new word, *διλετον*, occurs in ll. 5 and probably 12, apparently denoting some kind of measure. The writer's style suggests that he was still labouring under much excitement.

μέτρωι ἐνβαλοῦμαι. ἐκβοῶντος δέ μου καὶ κράζοντος τὰ τοσαῦτα
[. . . . . .]*ψατο με λέγων ὅτι τοῖς μέτροις σου οὐ θέλωι ἰσχρήσασθαι, ἠ-*
[*νάγκασμα*]*ι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* [*ἄ*]*λλο μέτρον ἀγοράσαι. ἀγοράσαντος δέ μου*
[*αὐτὸ πα*]*ρέχωι ἔχων τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ συνβάλλο αὐτὸ κατε-*
5 [. . . . . .] *εὑρίσκωι αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ δίλετον, εἰσπορεύομαι εἰς τὴν αὐ-*
[. . . *ἔχων α*]*ὐτὸ καὶ παραλαμβάνωι Ἀσίην τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἐρασίππου*
[. . . . . .] . *οὖν εἰσπορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔχων αὐτὸ καὶ*
[*συμβάλλω*] *αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν μέτρον ἐν τῶι συνεδρείωι, εὑρίσ-*
[*κω αὐτὸ . . . . .*] *μείζωι δύο ταῖς ἑκατόν. ἐγὼ οὖν ἐβόων καὶ ἔκραζον*
10 [. . . . . .]*ερον τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄδικόν ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιον*
[12 letters *ἐν τῶι συν*]*εδρείωι σὺν τῶι στρατηγῶι ἐκ⟨ρ⟩άζοσαν*
[22 „ *β*]*ρώντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰσφέρω τὸ δίλε-*
[*τον* 21 letters] *βοῶν καὶ κράζων ὅτι τοῦτο ἔστι*
[26 letters *ἠν*]*άγκασμαι βοᾶν αὐτῶι ὅτι*
15 [28 „] *δὲ οὐκ ἐνβάλλομαι ὧδε*
[28 „] . *ἐντυγχάνωντος πυκνὰ*
[24 „ *τ*]*οῦ δρόμου τ*[

. . . . . .

4. l. *συμβάλλω*. 16. l. *ἐντυγχάνοντος*.

2. [. . . ἡμεί]ψατο or [ἀντημεί]ψατο would suit the context. For ἡ[νάγκασμα]ι cf. l. 14.

5. The meaning and even the construction of πρὸς τὸ δίλετον (the reading of which is quite certain) is very obscure. From l. 12 it appears that the δίλετον was portable, and perhaps it was a species of measure, though whether it was that to which the writer's opponent objected (l. 2) or an official measure of some kind is not clear. Assuming this to be the meaning of δίλετον, it is tempting to connect πρὸς τὸ δίλ. with συμβάλλω αὐτό in l. 4; but the intervening words εὑρίσκω αὐτό are then very difficult. Possibly πρὸς τὸ δίλ. is parallel to μείζω δύο ταῖς ἑκατόν in l. 9, since the general construction of ll. 4–5 and 8–9 seems to be the same; but πρὸς τὸ δίλ. can by itself hardly mean 'equal to the δίλετον' and ἴσον would have to be supplied.

εἰς τὴν αὐ[: probably εἰς τὴν αὐ[τοῦ, i.e. the person referred to in l. 2, or τὴν Αὐ[. . .

8. For the use of bronze in official measures cf. P. Tebt. 5. 85–92, and P. Amh. 43. 9–10.

718. Petition to the Epistrategus.

25·8 × 17·5 *cm.* A.D. 180–192.

A petition from Antistius Primus, who had held the chief priesthood and other offices at Oxyrhynchus, complaining that a payment due to the government upon 4 arourae of Crown land had been demanded from him, although his property included no land of that character. The land in question had perhaps been the subject of a perpetual lease, and owing to lapse of time and deficiencies in the survey-lists its identity had become doubtful; cf. a similar case in P. Amh. 68. 52 sqq.

From the character of the handwriting the papyrus must belong to the latter half of the second century, and there can be little doubt that the Xenophon here addressed, who was evidently a high official, was T. Claudius Xenophon, known to have been epistrategus in the reign of Commodus (C. I. L. III. 6575, 8042).

[Τίτῳ Κλαυδίῳ Ξ]ενοφῶντι [τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ
[παρὰ . . . . . .] Ἀνθεστίου Πρείμ[ου τοῦ καὶ Λολλιανοῦ
[12 letters σ]αντος καὶ ἀρχιερ[ατεύσαντος
[10 „ τῆς] Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν [πόλεως
5 [. . . . ἐπριάμην μ]ὲν παρὰ Διονυσίο[υ
[12 letters ο]υ σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάν[δρῳ τὰς περὶ Σέννιν
[. . . . . ὑπαρχούσα]ς αὐτῷ ἐκ διαιρ[έσεως γενομένης πρὸς
[. . . . . καὶ τὸν ἀδελ]φὸν Ἀπολλώνιον νεώτερον ἀρούρας [σει]τικὰς πεντήκον-

[τα δύο ἥμισ]υ καὶ ἐν οἰ[κοπέδο]ις ἀρούρης ἥμισυ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ βασιλικῆς καὶ
10 [οὐσιακῆς καὶ ἱερᾶ]ς ἀκολούθως ᾗ πεποίημαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διαιρέσει
[τελοῦντός μου τὰ] τῆς ἰδιωτικῆς μόνης δημόσια. χρόνῳ δὲ παμπόλλῳ ὕστε-
[ρον μετὰ τ]εσσεράκοντα ἔτη οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τοῦ πράτου Διονυσίου ἀποθανόν-
[τος ὁ τῆς . . .] . α κωμογραμματεὺς περὶ ὧν ἐστιν καὶ ἡ Σένις ὡς ἐξ ἐπερω-
[τήσεως κτήτ]ορος παρ' οὗ δεήσει τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ποιήσα[σ]θαι δημοσίων
15 [ἀρουρῶν τεσ]σάρων βασιλικῆς ἐν πυροῦ ἀρτάβαις δεκάπεντε προσεφώνησεν
[τὰς τέσσαρας ταύ]τας ἀρούρας τῆς βασιλικῆς συναναμίγους εἶναι τῇ ὑπαρ-
[χούσῃ μοι γῇ τῶ]ν πεντήκοντα τριῶν ἃς ἐπριάμην παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ
[13 letters]ου, ὡς ἐκ τούτου δεῖν τὰ δημόσια ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποδοθῆναι
[13 „]υ μήτε βασιλικὴν συνανάμιγον ἐσχηκότος μηδ' αὖ γεωρ-
20 [γοῦντος μηδ' ὅλω]ς γνωρίζοντός τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμογραμματέως
[προσφωνηθέντων] ἔτι δὲ ἄνωθ[ε]ν τῶν δημοσίων ἀποδιδομένων
[ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν] ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων ὡς εἰκὸς ὑπὸ ἑτέρων. ἐπεὶ οὖν
[βλάβη ἔπαθον οὐ]κ ὀλίγα, ἄδικον δὲ μὴ γεωργοῦντα ἀπαιτεῖσθαί με δημό-
[σια ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρία]ς γῆς, δέομαι, ἐάν σοι δόξῃ, γράψαι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ
25 [ἵνα ᾧ προσῆκόν] ἐστιν τοῦτο πραξῃ ἐπιστείλῃ κατὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα ενιευ
[13 letters τ]ὰ[ς] ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμογραμματέως προσφωνηθείσας
[ἀρούρας τέσσαρας βα]σιλικῆς συ[ν]αναμίγους εἶναι τῇ ἰδιωτικῇ μου
[καὶ . . . . . πρ]οσφωνήσῃ τὸν ἐπικρατοῦντα παρ' οὗ καὶ εὐλόγως ἡ
[ἀπαίτησις τῶν δημοσίω]ν γενήσετ[α]ι. περὶ γὰρ ὧν ἀπῃτήθην οὐ δέον δημο-
30 [σίων μενεῖ μοι ὁ λόγος πρ]ὸς τὸν φ[α]νησόμενον ἀντιποιούμενον, ἵν' ὦ
[βεβοηθημένος. διε]υτ[ύχει.
2nd hand [. . . . . Ἀνθέστιος Πρεῖμος ὁ καὶ] Λολλιανὸς διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου
[ἐπιδέδωκα]

25. l. πρᾶξαι. 26. π of υπο corr.?

'To his highness the epistrategus Titus Claudius Xenophon from . . . Antistius Primus also called Lollianus, . . ., ex-chief-priest . . . of the city of Oxyrhynchus . . . I bought from Dionysius . . . with Alexander the land at Sennis . . . belonging to him in consequence of the division made with . . . and his brother Apollonius the younger, namely 52½ arourae of corn-land and ½ aroura of building-land, free from obligations in respect of Crown land or Imperial estates or temple land, in accordance with the division made by me with the (my?) brothers, the taxes upon the private land only being paid by me. A very long while afterwards, forty years having elapsed, it somehow happened after the death of the seller Dionysius that the komogrammateus of . . ., to whose district Sennis also belongs, in answer to an inquiry concerning the landlord from whom the

demand should be made of the imposts for 4 arourae of Crown land amounting to 15 artabae of wheat, stated that these 4 arourae of Crown land were included in the 53 arourae belonging to me which I bought from Dionysius and . . ., and that therefore the imposts ought to be paid by me . . . , although I have never had Crown land included in mine nor cultivate any and am altogether ignorant of the statements of the komogrammateus, and although the imposts for the said 4 arourae have for years been paid in the regular course by others. Therefore since I have incurred no small loss and it is unjust that I should be asked to pay the imposts on land which does not belong to me and which I do not cultivate, I beg you, if you think fit, to write to the strategus of the nome, in order that in accordance with the decrees he may direct the officials whose duty it is to . . . the 4 arourae of Crown land declared by the komogrammateus to be included in my private land, and may state the owner from whom the demand for the imposts may reasonably be made; for I shall retain a claim for the sums with which I was wrongfully charged against the person proved to be responsible for the payment, that so I may obtain relief. Farewell. (Signed) Presented by me, . . . Antistius Primus also called Lollianus, through Apollonius . . .'

3. Probably *ἀγορανομήσ]αντος*, the municipal titles being usually arranged on an ascending scale; cf. Preisigke, *Städtisches Beamtenwesen in röm. Aeg.* p. 31.

8. [*σει*]*τικάς*: or possibly [*ἰδιω*]*τικάς* (cf. ll. 11 and 27), but [*σει*]*τικάς* makes a better contrast to *ἐν οἰ*[*κοπέδο*]*ις*, if that be right.

9. *καθαρὰς ἀπὸ βασιλικῆς κ.τ.λ.*: cf. **506**. 37 note, and **633**.

13. . . .] . *α* is the name of a village or *ἐποίκιον*.

14. *κτήτ*]*ορος*, if right, is an objective genitive depending upon *ἐπερω*[*τήσεως*; cf. l. 28. An alternative supplement is *πράκτ*]*ορος* constructed subjectively, but the relative *παρ' οὗ* is then awkward.

δημοσίων: i. e. the rent, the rate of which upon *βασιλικὴ γῆ* was usually about 4 artabae the aroura; in the present case it was $3\frac{3}{4}$ artabae. In l. 11 on the other hand *δημόσια* has its ordinary meaning of taxes.

16. *συνανάμιγος* appears to be a new compound.

18. Perhaps [*τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρ*]*ου* or [*τοῦ Ἀπολλωνί*]*ου*. But it would appear from l. 12 that there was only one *πράτης*.

25. *ενιευ* at the end of the line is clearly written, but suggests nothing; some word like *ἐπισκέψασθαι* is wanted.

719. Registration of a Deed.

19·8 × 16·6 *cm.* A.D. 193.

A notice addressed to the strategus by a certain Didymus of an authorization received by him from the archidicastes in answer to an application which he had made for the registration of a purchase of some house property. A copy of the application, itself enclosing a copy of the agreement of sale, is appended, and gives some interesting information concerning the formalities attending this process of registration, which we think has not hitherto been understood. Texts

of the same class already published are B. G. U. 455, 578 and 717, to which an important Leipzig papyrus will shortly be added (cf. P. Grenf. II. 71. 6, B. G. U. 970. 20–2, 983. 10). The object in all these cases is to effect the 'publication' (δημοσίωσις) of private agreements made by note of hand (χειρόγραφα), and the publication consisted in the registration of the agreements at the Library of Hadrian and the Nanaeum at Alexandria (cf. l. 35 below, B. G. U. 578. 19, and **34**). For such registration of a copy of an agreement the fixed charge of 12 drachmae was payable (ll. 30–1), to which is added in the Leipzig papyrus a tax proportionate to the value involved; a declaration had to be made that the document registered was really written by the person by whom it purported to have been issued (ll. 33–4, B. G. U. 717. 26, &c.); and a notice of the transaction was served in the ordinary way through the strategus upon the other contracting party, who would of course raise objections if any irregularity had occurred (ll. 3–4). We are unable to find here, with Gradenwitz (*Einführung*, pp. 36–7), any question of a comparison of deeds or handwriting. The purpose was rather to obtain for the agreement concerned a validity which, as a mere χειρόγραφον, it did not previously possess, notwithstanding the formula ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακεχωρισμένη (l. 28, &c.). In B. G. U. 578 the δημοσίωσις was preparatory to an action at law arising out of the non-fulfilment of the terms of the χειρόγραφον. In the other cases no such purpose is specified, and the step taken is only precautionary. This δημοσίωσις of χειρόγραφα is to be distinguished from the simple notification to the archidicastes of contracts without any reference to καταχωρισμός at the two libraries (cf. **727**, introd.).

The papyrus bears the date Phaophi of the 2nd year of Pescennius Niger; other documents dated shortly before the collapse of his power are **801** and P. Grenf. II. 60.

Ἀχιλλῖ τῷ καὶ Κασίῳ στρα(τηγῷ)

2nd hand *παρὰ Διδύμου Ἀμμωνίου μητρὸς Ἑλένης ἀπ[οί]κου Ἡλίου πό[λεω]ς.*
ο̣[ὗ ἐπό]ρ̣[ισ]α̣

ἐκ τοῦ καταλογείου χρηματισμοῦ ἐστιν ἀντίγρα(φον)· Οὐιτάλιος [ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ [ἀρχιδ]ικαστὴς Ὀ[ξ]υρυγχείτου στρα(τηγῷ) χα(ίρειν). τοῦ δεδομένου ὑπομ(νήματος) ἀντί[γρα(φον)] μεταδο(θήτω) ὡς

5 *[ὑπόκ(ειται). ἔ]ρρωσο. (ἔτους) β Γαίου Πεσκεννίου Νίγερος Ἰούστου Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ Φαῶφι κ̣η.*

[. . . . .] . η̣ρ̣η̣ . ( ) [σ]εσημ(είωμαι). Πο̣λ̣έμ̣[ω]ν Π̣α̣ . . [. . .] γ̣ρ̣α̣μ̣ματ(εὺς) καταλογ[είου .] . πο( ) ἔγ[ραψα.

Οὐ[ι]ταλίῳ ἱερῖ ἀρχιδ[ικα]σ̣τῇ κ̣α̣ὶ π̣ρ̣[ὸ]ς̣ [τῇ] ἐπ̣ι̣[μ]ε̣λ̣[ε]ίᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν̣ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων παρὰ Δι[δύμου Ἀμ]μω[νί]ο̣υ̣ μ̣η̣[τ]ρ̣ὸ̣ς̣ [Ἑλένης ἀπο[ί]κου Ἡλίου πόλεως. τοῦ προημένου μοι ἁπλοῦ χειρογράφ[ου] ἀντί-
[γρ(αφον)] ὑ̣π̣ό̣κ̣(ειται).
10 Παποντῶς Βίθυος μητρὸς Τσενπαχοῦτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος [Εἰσείο]υ̣ [τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ Διδύμῳ Ἀπολλωνίου μητρὸς Ἑλένης ἀπ[οί]κου Ἡλίου πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχω[ρ]η̣[κέν]αι σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι ἐν τῷ [αὐ]τ̣ῷ̣ Τρύφωνος Εἰσείῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ νότου μέρεσι τῆς κώμης ἡμί[σ]ους̣ [μέ]ρος
15 οἰκιῶν δύο διστέγου καὶ αἰθρίου κοινῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Παοῦν, ὧν γείτονες τῆς μὲν μιᾶς τοῦ αἰθρίου νότου εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος βορρᾶ [κλ]ηρονόμων Διογᾶτος ἀπηλιώτου κληρονόμων Ὥρου λιβὸς δημοσ[ί]α ῥύμη, τῆς ⟨δὲ⟩ δευτέρας νότου Παποντῶτος Μούθιος βορρᾶ Ἡρακλείδου Ὠρείωνος ἀπηλιώτου δημοσία ῥύμη λιβὸς Μύσιος Μέλανος,
20 τιμῆς τῆς συμπεφωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ παραχωρητικοῦ ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσμα[τος δ]ραχμῶν δισχειλίω[ν,] ἃς αὐτόθι ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ διὰ [χειρὸς . . . . .]δ̣ρασ̣η̣ γεινόμενο̣ς̣ βεβαιοῦν δέ με αὐτὰς τ[ὰς οἰκίας καθαρὰς] ἀπό τε δημοσίας κα[ὶ ἰδιωτικῆ]ς ὀφιλῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδρῶν̣ κ̣[α]ὶ̣ [ε]ἰ̣δ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣
25 οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου καὶ ἐξουσίας σοι οὔσης ἑτέροις παρ[αχωρεῖν καὶ διοικε[ῖ]ν κα[ὶ] ἐπιτελεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐὰν αἱρῇ. κυρία [ἡ ὁμολογία γραφεῖσα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ Παποντῶτος ἰδ[ι]όγραφος μου χω[ρὶς ἀλείφατος καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακεχωρισμέν[η. (ἔτους) α Γαίου Πεσκεννίου Νί[γ]ερος Ἰούστου Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι κ. βου[λόμενος οὖν
30 ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι τὸ αὐθεντικὸν χειρόγραφον διδοὺ̣[ς τὰς ὁρισθείσας (δραχμὰς) ιβ ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ περιέχειν με̣ τὰς περὶ [δημοσιώσεως διαστολὰς καὶ μοναχὸν δημοσιοῦσθαι ἀξιῶ ἀν[αλαβόντα τὸ αὐθεντικὸν χειρόγραφον ἔχειν μου χειρογραφίαν̣ [περὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἰδιόγραφον τοῦ Παποντῶτος συνκαταχωρ[ίσαι τῷδε τῷ
35 ὑπομνή[ματι] εἰς τ̣[ὴν Ἀδριανὴν βι]β[λι]οθήκην εἰς [

. . . . . .

2. Second δ of διδυμου corr. from first half of a μ. 5. φαωφι apparently over an erasure. 7. ἱερι Pap. 9. l. προειμένου. 10. χ of τσενπαχουτος corr. from γ by another hand. 11. απολλωνιου corr. from αμμωνιου by another hand. 14. l. ἥμισυ. 31. A correction after με; cf. note below. 33. l. ἔχον.

'To Achilles also called Casius, strategus, from Didymus son of Ammonius and Helene, a settler from Heliopolis. Appended is a copy of the official response received by me from the record office. "Vitalius, priest and archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Let a copy of the petition which has been presented be served as follows. Good-bye. The 2nd year of Gaius Pescennius Niger Justus Augustus, Phaophi 28. Signed by me . . . Written by me, Polemon son of . . . scribe of the record office. . . . To Vitalius, priest, archidicastes and superintendent of the chrematistae and other courts, from Didymus son of Ammonius and Helene, a settler from Heliopolis. Appended is a copy of the bond issued singly to me. Papontos son of Bithys and Tsenpachous, of Ision Tryphonis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Didymus son of Apollonius and Helene, a settler from Heliopolis, greeting. I acknowledge that I have sold and ceded to you from henceforth for ever of my property in the said Ision Tryphonis in the southern part of the village a half share of two houses, one having two storeys, the other a yard, owned jointly by me and my brother Paous, the boundaries of which are, of the one with the yard, on the south an entrance and exit, on the north the property of the heirs of Diogas, on the east that of the heirs of Horus, on the west a public road, and of the other, on the south the property of Papontos son of Mouthis, on the north that of Heraclides son of Horion, on the east a public road, on the west the property of Miusis son of Melas, at the price agreed upon between us for the cession namely 2000 drachmae of the Imperial silver coinage, which sum I have received immediately from hand to hand . . .; and I guarantee the houses free from public and private debts and unaffected by persons' property-returns or any other claims, the right resting with you to cede to others and to manage and dispose of them as you choose. This contract, written by me, Papontos, in my own hand without erasure or insertion, is valid as though publicly registered. The 1st year of Gaius Pescennius Niger Justus Augustus, Pauni 20. Being therefore desirous that the authentic bond should be publicly registered I offer the prescribed 12 drachmae, in order that the regulations concerning publication may not apply to me (?), and that a single copy may be published, and request you to take this authentic bond bearing my attestation that it is the autograph of Papontos and register it together with this petition at the Library of Hadrian . . ."'

3. *ἐκ τοῦ*: in **485**. 3 *ἐκ* should also be read instead of *πα⟨ρά⟩*.

6. *γραμματ⟨εὺς⟩ καταλογ[είου*: this no doubt was also the position of Hephaestion in **485**. 8 and Flavius Aurelius in B. G. U. 578. 8. The *καταλογεῖον* was presumably at Alexandria.

22.]*δραση* looks like the termination of a place name.

23–4. *καθαρὰς*] . . . *ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς*: cf. **577** *καθαρὸν* (a share of a house) *ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς πάσης καὶ ἀπὸ γεωργ⟨ίας⟩ βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς καὶ παντὸς εἴδους.*

27–8. *χω[ρὶς ἀλείφατος] καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς*: cf. B. G. U. 666. 31, 717. 24, &c.

31–2. This is an obscure passage, the difficulties being increased by a slight uncertainty concerning the reading of *με*, which is followed in the original by something having the appearance of a tall *υ*. To read *μου* is unsatisfactory because the *ε* does not seem to have been touched, and we prefer to suppose that the tail of the *φ* of *χειρόγραφον* in l. 30, which is immediately above, descended into the line below and was cut off by a curved cross-stroke, so producing the effect of a *υ*. With *μου*, supposing that were intended, the meaning would be 'because it (the *χειρόγραφον*) does not comprise my *διαστολαί*'; and the words may be construed in a somewhat similar sense with the more probable reading *με* 'because I do not possess the orders for publication,' the reference to the *διαστολαί* being in either case quite unexplained. On the view adopted

in our translation the διαστολαὶ περὶ δημοσιώσεως may be supposed to have prescribed certain penalties or disabilities if the form of procedure followed by the petitioner was neglected.

720. Request for a Guardian.

21·5 × 9·8 *cm.* A.D. 247. Plate VII.

A petition in Latin addressed to the praefect, Claudius Valerius Firmus, by a woman named Aurelia Ammonarion, that he would appoint a particular person as her guardian in accordance with the *lex Iulia et Titia.* This measure, which is supposed to have been passed in B.C. 31, empowered the praefects of provinces to assign guardians to women and minors who were without them. Appended to the document, which is signed in Greek by the petitioner and her proposed guardian, is the reply of the praefect making the appointment as desired. The rarity of accurately-dated specimens of Latin cursive gives the papyrus a considerable palaeographical interest.

[C]l(audio) Valerio Firm[o praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti)
ab Aurelia{e} Ammo[nario.
rogo domine des mi[hi
auctorem Aurel(ium) P[lutammonem
5 *e lege Iulia Titia et* . . . . [. . .
dat(um) do(minis) no(stris) Philippo Aug(usto) ii e[t
Philippo Caesarịs c̣[o(n)s(ulibus).

2nd hand [*A*]ὐρηλία Ἀμμωνάριον [ἐπιδέδωκα.
3rd hand [*A*]ὐρηλία Πλουτάμμ[ων εὐδοκῶ τῇ
10 [δε]ήσι.
4th hand (ἔτους) δ Τῦβι ι. [
5th hand. *quo ne ab[*. . . . . .
abeat Pl[utammonem
e leg(e) Iul(ia) et [Titia auctorem
15 *do.* (6th hand?) *cepi.*

6. *d°d°. n°n°* Pap. 7. l. *Caesare.* 9. l. Αὐρήλιος.

'To Claudius Valerius Firmus, praefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Ammonarion. I beg, my lord, that you will grant me as my guardian Aurelius Plutammon in accordance with the *lex Iulia Titia* . . . Dated in the consulship of our lords Philippus Augustus

for the 2nd time and Philippus Caesar. (Signed) I, Aurelia Ammonarion, have presented the petition. I, Aurelius Plutammon, assent to the request. The 4th year, Tubi 10. (Endorsed) In order that . . . may not be absent, I appoint Plutammon as guardian in accordance with the *lex Iulia et Titia.* Received by me.'

1. Valerius Firmus is already known as praefect at this time from P. Amh. 72 (A.D. 246) and 81 (A.D. 247). With regard to the date of P. Amh. 72 Wilcken considers (*Archiv*, II. p. 127) that the regnal year should be read as ϛ instead of γ, as in our text; but we still hold that γ is right and that the facsimile, so far from throwing any doubt upon our reading, thoroughly confirms it.

5. *lege Iulia Titia*: cf. Gaius, *Inst.* i. § 185 *si cui nullus omnino tutor sit, ei datur in urbe Roma ex lege Atilia . . . in provinciis vero a praesidibus provinciarum ex lege Iulia et Titia.* In the official signature below (l. 14) the more usual and probably more correct form *Iulia et Titia* is used. The *et* has sometimes been regarded as a reason for supposing that there were two leges, a Julia and a Titia, but the conclusion is by no means necessary.

Of the mutilated word at the end of the line the first letter may be *a, e, i, s,* or *t,* and the second *a, r, m, n,* or *x.*

(*d*) CONTRACTS.

721. Sale of Crown Land.

15 × 16·5 *cm.* A.D. 13–14.

An offer addressed by two persons to Gaius Seppius Rufus, perhaps idiologus, for the purchase of 19 arourae of land which had reverted to the State and was at the time uncultivated, at the price of 12 drachmae per aroura. The document follows, so far as it goes, the same formula as P. Amh. 68. 17–24, which Mitteis is no doubt right in explaining, not as a sale in the strict sense, but as an example of emphyteusis or hereditary lease (*Zeitschr. Savigny-St.* 1901, pp. 151 sqq.)—a custom for which we now have evidence in Egypt as early as the second century B.C. (cf. P. Tebt. I. 5. 12). That this is the true nature of the transaction, in spite of the use of the term ὠνήσασθαι, is shown both by the lowness of the price—in P. Amh. 68. 21, 20 drachmae, here only 12—and by the provision in the Amherst papyrus for an annual rent. Cf. **835**, which is a similar offer for the 'purchase' of land addressed to the same official as **721**, and P. Amh. 97. The document was never completed, blank spaces being left for some of the dates.

Γαΐωι Σεππίῳ Ῥούφωι
παρὰ Πολέμωνος τοῦ Τρύφωνος καὶ [Ἀρχελάου . . . . . .
βουλόμεθα ὠνήσασθαι ἐν τῶι Ὀξυρυγχ[είτηι . . . . . ἀπὸ
ὑπολόγου βασιλικῆς ἕως τοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσ[α]ρ[ος κλήρων ἐ-
5 πὶ τοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἀνειλλημένων καὶ ἀφόρ[ω]ν
γεγονότων καὶ κλήρων τῶν ἕως τοῦ ἀνειλλημένων
καὶ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἀνειλλημένων πλὴν ἱερᾶς εἰς κ̣α̣[ρποὺς (?)
τοῦ ἰσιόντος τετάρτου καὶ τεσσαρακόστου ἔτους Καίσαρος, [ὁ μὲν
Πολέμων περὶ Θῶσβιν καὶ Τεποῦιν τῆ̣ς] ἄ̣νω̣ τ̣ο̣π̣[α]ρ̣χ̣[ίας
10 ἀρούρ(ας) δεκάπεντε, / ἄρουρ(αι) ιε, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλ[αος περὶ . . . . . τῆς
Θμοισεφὼ τοπαρχ(ίας) ἀρούρ(ας) τέσσαρες, / ἄρουρ(αι) [δ, / ἄρουρ(αι) ιθ,
ἐφ' ᾧ παραδειχθέντες ταύτας διαγράψο̣μ̣[εν εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τό-
πων [δη]μοσίαν τράπεζαν τ̣ὴ̣ν̣ κ̣ε̣κ̣ε̣[λευσμένην τιμὴν ἑκάστης
ἀρούρ(ας) [ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς)] δεκάδυο, ἕξομεν δὲ εἰς τὴν τ̣ο̣ύ̣[των ἀνα-
γωγὴν καὶ κα-
15 [τεργασίαν ἀτέλειαν ἔ]τηι τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ [εἰσιόντος μδ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος
. . . . . .

5. l. ἀνειλημμένων; so in l. 7.

'To Gaius Seppius Rufus from Polemon son of Tryphon and Archelaus son of . . . We wish to purchase in the Oxyrhynchite nome of the Crown land returned as unproductive up to the . . . year of Caesar, from the holdings which were confiscated in the . . . year of Caesar and became unfruitful and the holdings confiscated up to and including the . . . year of Caesar, exclusive of temple land, for cultivation in the coming 44th year of Caesar—namely Polemon at Thosbis and Tepouis in the upper toparchy fifteen arourae, total 15 arourae, and Archelaus at . . . in the toparchy of Thmoisepho, four arourae, total 4 arourae, total 19 arourae, with the understanding that on these being assigned to us we shall pay into the local State-bank the price ordered for each aroura, 12 drachmae of silver, and shall have for their reclamation and cultivation immunity from taxation for three years from the coming 44th year of Caesar . . .'

1. For Seppius Rufus cf. Wessely, *Pap. Script. Graec. Specim.* no. 8, and P. Brit. Mus. 276, which shows that he was of higher rank than strategus.

4. ὑπολόγου βασιλικῆς: ὑπόλογος and τὸ ὑπόλογον are terms frequently used in the Tebtunis papyri to describe Crown land out of cultivation; cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 540. The only other example of this use of the word in the Roman period is P. Amh. 68.

4–5. [κλήρων] . . . ἀνειλλημένων: cf. P. Tebt. I. 61 (*b*). 74 &c. and P. Amh. 68. 18, which can now be restored on the analogy of the present passage κλήρων . . . ἀνε]ιλημμένων κα[ὶ ἀφόρων καὶ (?) . .] . . . των (perhaps ἀχρήστων) γε[γονότων.

7. πλὴν ἱεοᾶς is apparently to be connected with ὠνήσασθαι rather than ἀνειλημμένων.

The saleable land *ὑπολόγου βασιλικῆς* is regarded as including both the confiscated *κλῆροι* and certain *ἱερὰ γῆ* which must also have reverted to the government.

12. *παραδειχθέντες ταύτας*: cf. P. Amh. 68. 20, where *παραδειχθεὶς* [*ταύ*]*τας* is no doubt to be read, P. Tebt. 79. 16, &c.

13. *τὴν κεκε*[*λευσμένην τιμήν*: cf. P. Amh. 68. 20 *τὴν κ*[*ελευσθεῖσα*]*ν τιμὴν ὑπὸ Λουκίου Ἰουλίου* [*Ο*]*ὐησ*[*τείνου το*]*ῦ ἡγεμόν*[*ο*]*ς*.

14–5. The supplements are taken from P. Amh. 68. 21. Other conditions on the lines of P. Amh. 68 presumably followed. **835** concludes *ἀξίω ἐπιστεῖλαι? . . .*] *καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσι ἐκδόσθαι μοι τοὺ*[*ς . . . περὶ ταύ*]*τας χρηματισμούς*, and something of this kind apparently underlies P. Amh. 68. 23–4.

722. Emancipation of a Slave.

24·3 × 10 *cm.* A.D. 91 or 107.

This document, which contains a formal emancipation of a female slave, drawn up before the agoranomi and concluding with an acknowledgement of the ransom, is of great interest as being the first specimen of its class from Egypt which is prior to the introduction of the *constitutio Antonina*, and illustrating the differences between Graeco-Egyptian and Roman law on the subject of manumission. Of the two previously known parallels, B. G. U. 96, which is a mere fragment, belongs to the third century and the Papyrus Edmondstone (facsimile in Young's *Hieroglyphics*, ii, Plate 46; text in Curtius, *Anec. Delph.* App. 1, Wessely, *Jahresber. des k. k. Staatsgym. in Hernals*, xiii, pp. 47–8) to A. D. 354. Since the publications of the latter papyrus are somewhat inaccessible, we append the text of it on p. 202. Other papyri concerning the emancipation of slaves are **716**, **723**, a similar but much shorter example of a second century manumission, **48–9** and **349**, which are letters to the agoranomi authorizing them to liberate slaves. The ends of lines are lost throughout **722**, but can in part be restored either from the context or from a comparison with another and quite complete specimen of an emancipation, written in the reign of Commodus, which we opportunely found in January, 1904. The most striking feature of **722** is the circumstance that it is concerned, not with the emancipation of an individual whose status was entirely that of a slave, but with a joint manumission by two brothers of the third part of a slave who as regards the other two-thirds had already been made free; cf. the parallel case in **716** and, as it now appears, in P. Edmondstone 6. That the previous owner of the ⅔ was a different person from the two owners of the ⅓ is not stated directly but is in the light of **716** likely enough. It is also noticeable that the

ransom is paid, not by the slave herself or by a banker, but by a private individual, perhaps her prospective husband, and that a distinction is drawn between the λύτρα paid to the owner and a small sum in silver which probably went to the State ; cf. note on l. 19.

Ἔτους δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορ[ος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ὑπε[ρβερεταίου
ἐπαγο(μένων) (2nd hand) ς Σεβα(στῇ) (1st hand) μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου
ἐ[παγο(μένων) (2nd hand) ς Σεβα(στῇ) (1st hand) ἐν Ὀ-
ξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδ[ος ἐπ' ἀγορανό-
5 μων Ψαμμίων τριῶν [
ἀφεῖκαν ἐ{υ}λευθέραν ὑπὸ Δία Γ[ῆν Ἥλιον Ἀχιλλεὺς
ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ̣ μέσος μελίχρως μ[ακροπρόσωπος
[οὐ(λὴ) μ]ετώπῳ μέσῳ καὶ Σαραπ[ᾶς ὡς (ἐτῶν) . μέσος
[μ]ε̣λ[ίχρως μακροπρόσωπος οὐ(λὴ) . . . . . .
10 [. . ἀ]ριστερ[. ἀμφότεροι . . . . . τοῦ
[Ἀμ]μωνίου μητρὸς Σαραποῦτος [. . . . . .
[τῶ]ν̣ ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως [ἐν ἀγυιᾷ τὸ ὑ-
[πάρ]χον αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου τρίτον μέ[ρος τῆς ἐξαπη-
[λευ]θερωμένης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο δ̣[ίμοιρον δού-
15 λης Ἀπολλωνοῦτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) κς μέσ[ης μελίχρωτος
[μα]κροπροσώπου οὐλὴ ποδὶ δ̣[εξιῷ̣ . . . . . .
ἐξαπηλευθερωμένης (ταλάντων) δ̣[. . . . . .
[. .]ν̣ τ̣ῶν τοῦ ἀπελευθερουμέ[νου . . . . τρίτου
[μέρου]ς̣ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου δρα[χμῶν . . . . . .
20 [τ]ε[τ]ρωβόλου καὶ ὧν τέτακται [. . . . Ἀχιλλεῖ
καὶ Σαραπᾷ Ἡρακλᾶς Τρύφωνο[ς τοῦ . . . . . .
μητρὸς Ταοννώφριος Π̣αν̣εσι̣[. . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς
[α]ὐτῆς πόλεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) λα μέσο[ς μελίχρως
μακροπρόσωπος οὐ(λὴ) ὑπὲρ γό(νυ) δεξ[ιὸν λύτρων
25 ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσμα[τος δραχμῶν
διακοσίων χαλκοῦ ταλάντω[ν . . . . . .
χιλίων, οὐκ ἐξόντος τῷ Ἀχ[ιλλεῖ οὐδ' ἄλλῳ
[ὑ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀπαίτησιν ποιε[ῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς Ἀπολ-
[λ]ωνοῦτος οὐδὲ τῶν π̣[αρ' αὐτῆς τῶν προκει-

30 [μ]ένων λύτρων οὐδ' ἐπιε̣[. . . . . .
γνωστὴρ τῆς ἐλευθερώ[σεως . . . . . .
τοῦ Πετεήσιος μητρὸς [. . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ μ[έσος μελίχρως μακρο-
πρόσωπος οὐ(λὴ) ἀντικ[νημίῳ . . . . . ἐν ἀγυιᾷ
35 τῇ αὐτῆι. (2nd hand) Ἀχιλλ[εὺς . . . . . .
πεπύημε σ̣[ὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ
Σεραπᾶτι τὴ[ν ἐλευθέρωσιν
τοῦ τρίτου [μέρους δούλης
Ἀπολονοῦτ[ος καὶ ἀπέχω
40 τὰ λύτρα ἀ̣[ργυρίου δραχ(μὰς)
διακοσία[ς χαλκοῦ
[. .]υ̣[
. . . . . .

On the verso
ἐπαγο(μένων) ς [

16. π of ποδι corr. from δ. 36. l. πεποίημαι. 39. l. Ἀπολλωνοῦτ[ος.

'The 10th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, on the 6th intercalary day of Hyperberetaeus, dies Augustus, which is the 6th intercalary day of the month Caesarius, dies Augustus, at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid, before three agoranomi called Psammis, Achilleus, aged about 20 years, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on the middle of his forehead, and Sarapas, aged about . . . years, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on his left . . ., both sons of . . . son of Ammonius, their mother being Sarapous daughter of . . ., all of Oxyrhynchus, have set free under sanction of Zeus, Earth, and Sun (the deed being drawn up in the street) the third part which they jointly own of the slave who has been freed as regards the other two-thirds, Apollonous, aged about 26, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on the right foot, . . . for . . . drachmae 4 obols of coined silver and the ransom paid to Achilleus and Sarapas by Heraclas son of Tryphon son of . . ., his mother being Taonnophris daughter of . . . of the said city, aged about 31, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar above his right knee, namely 200 drachmae of Imperial silver coin and . . . talents 1000 drachmae of copper; Achilleus or any one else on his behalf being forbidden to make any demand of the aforesaid ransom from Apollonous or her assigns, or to . . . The certifier of the manumission is . . . son of Peteësis, his mother being . . ., of the said city, aged about 40, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar upon his . . . shin, in the same street.

'I, Achilleus, have with my brother Sarapas effected the emancipation of the third part of the slave Apollonous, and I have received the ransom, two hundred drachmae of silver . . .'

1. Since the papyrus must on palaeographical grounds be assigned to the end of the first or the early part of the second century, the coincidence of a 6th intercalary day with the 10th year of an emperor called Germanicus fixes the reign as that of either Domitian or Trajan. The supplement at the end of l. 1 is in any case long compared with the 10 letters which are missing in l. 2, and Domitian is therefore preferable.

6. Cf. the similar beginning of P. Edmondst. 6 sqq. For *Δία Γ[ῆν Ἥλιον*, cf. **48**. 6, &c.

12. *ἐν ἀγυιᾷ* is supplied from the newly found emancipation (cf. introd.); cf. *ἐν ἀγυιᾷ] τῇ αὐτῆι* in ll. 34–5. We are inclined to think that this formula, which so far is only known at Oxyrhynchus, regularly implies the execution of the document before the agoranomi, who are mentioned much less frequently in Oxyrhynchus contracts than elsewhere.

16–9. The newly found emancipation proceeds straight from the description of the slave to the mention of the *ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον* corresponding to l. 19, and owing to the lacunae it is not clear whether the sum mentioned in l. 17 is the ransom of the whole slave or of the $\frac{2}{3}$ previously set free. On the whole we think the latter hypothesis is more likely. The talents are in either case probably copper.

19. *ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου*: the newly found emancipation has *ἀργ. ἐπισ. δραχμῶν δέκα καὶ ὧν τέτακται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ* (sc. the slave) *τῷ Θέωνι* (the owner) . . . *λύτρων ἀργ. δραχ. πεντακοσίων*, on the analogy of which we have supplied *λύτρων* in l. 24. It is clear from that papyrus that a distinction was drawn between the payment in *ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον* and the ransom paid to the owner, and from **48** and **49** in which the same amount of *ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον*, 10 drachmae, is coupled with different sums expressed in copper, there would seem to have been a normal charge of 10 drachmae in addition to the ransom, in spite of **722**. 19–20, where the amount of *ἀργ. ἐπισ.* cannot be 10 drachmae. The divergence of **722** at this point may be due to the fact that it is concerned with the emancipation of only part of a slave. To whom these 10 drachmae were paid is not made clear, but it is probable that the State in some form was the recipient. Nowhere in connexion with these emancipations under Graeco-Egyptian law is there a mention of the *vicesima libertatis* levied under Roman law, which appears in B. G. U. 96. 8 (*τὴν [εἰω]θυεῖαν εἰκοστήν*); but if, as we are now disposed to think, the status of the persons who wrote **48–9** was that of farmers of the *ἐγκύκλιον* and **48–9** stand towards such documents as **722** in the same kind of relation as **241–3** towards contracts for sale or mortgage, there must have been a tax upon the emancipation of slaves apart from the 10 drachmae *ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου*.

Papyrus Edmondstone. A.D. 354.

ειπῳ( ) ὑπατε[ία]ς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ζ καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ γ

Τῦβι ιζ τῆς ιγ ἰνδικτίονος, ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνη[ς] πόλει τῆς ἄνω Θηβαίδος.

Αὐρηλία Τηρουτήρου Πασμῆτος μητρὸς Τσενπαχνούμεως ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως μετὰ συνεστῶτ[ο]ς

[τ]οῦ κυρίου αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς Αὐρηλίου Δωροθέου Σερήνου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπάμμωνι

5 *μητρὸς Ταπαμῶνος καὶ Τ̣καλῆτι ἐκ μητρὸς Θαήσιος καὶ ⟨τ⟩ῇ ταύτη⟨ς⟩ θυγατρὶ Αὐρηλίᾳ Λουσίᾳ γενομένοι⟨ς⟩*

μοι δούλοι⟨ς⟩ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος μέρους χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἑκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως καὶ

ἀμετανοήτως ἀφικέναι ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρους τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος μοι μέρους ὑπὸ Γῆν καὶ Οὐρανὸν κατ' εὐσεβίαν

τ[ο]ῦ πανελεήμονος Θεοῦ ἐλθόντος εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπὸ κληρονομίας τῆς μητρός μου ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐνεδείξωσθέ μοι κατὰ χρόνον εὐνοίας καὶ στοργῆς ἔτι τε καὶ ὑπηρεσίας. ρεπεσθε
οὖν ὑμᾶς
10 κατὰ τ[ὸ] προκείμενόν μου μέρος καθὼς προεῖπον καὶ νέμεσθε εἰς οὓς ἐὰν βούλητε τόπους
ἀκωλύτως
καὶ ἀνεπιλήμπτως, εὐδοκεῖν γὰρ καὶ πείθεσθαι ἐμὲ τὴν ἐλευθεροῦντα τοῖς ἐλευθερουμένοις εἰς
τήνδε [τ]ὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν ἥκειν τοῖς ἐλευθερουμένοις καθὼς προδεδήλουται καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἐσομέν[ο]ις εἴτε ἐπὶ θηλείοις τέκνοις εἴτε ἐπὶ ἑτέροις ἐκγόνοις· μήτε μὴν οἷς ἐὰν κτήσησθε τρό(πῳ)
μη[δενὶ] παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ ἐντεῦθεν ἀκώλυτον ἔσται τῆς δουλείας, καὶ μὴ ἔξεσται δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν
15 ἐμῶν κληρονόμων ἀπαξαπλῶς ἀντιλέγειν μου ταύτῃ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ περὶ μηδενὸς κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον
ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς ἀφορμῆς τῷ καθόλου δι' ἣν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐνέδειξόν μοι εὔνοιαν καὶ
φιλοστοργείαν,
κα[ὶ] αὐτὴ ἀμοιβόμενος τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἑκὼν καὶ πεπισμένη ἧκον εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἥνπερ
ἐθέμην κυρίαν καὶ βεβαίαν ἁπλῆν γραφεῖσαν πανταχοῦ ἐπιφερομένην ἐφ' ὑπογραφῆς ἐμοῦ Δωρο-
θέου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς πρὸς αἰωνίαν ὑμῶν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖσα ὡμολόγησα.
20 (2nd hand) Αὐρηλία Τηρουτήρου Πασμῆτος ἡ προκειμένη ἐθέμην τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ εὐδοκῶ
πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνγεγραμμένοις
ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Δωρόθεος Σερήνου ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς συνέστην τῇ γυναικί
μου καὶ ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γράμματα μὴ εἰδηείης. (3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος Τινισαεῖς Ἀμμωνᾶτος μαρτυρῶ.
(4th hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμωνίου
Σωκράτους μαρτυρῶ. (5th hand) Αὐρήλιος Φιτουσίας Ἀντωνίου μαρτυρῶ. (6th hand) Αὐ-
ρήλιος Κύριλλος Παησίου μαρτυρῶ.
(7th hand) Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ προεστώτων Ἐλεφαντίνης μαρτυρῶ.

5. Τκαλῆτι: or perhaps Τηαλήψι. 6. l. μου for μοι. 9. l. ἐνεδείξασθε. Final ε of ρεπεσθε corr. from α; l. ⟨τ⟩ρέπεσθαι? 10. l. νέμεσθαι . . . βούλησθε. 11. l. ἐλευθεροῦσαν. 12. l. προδεδήλωται. 16. l. ἐνέδειξαν. 17. l. ἀμειβομένη. 22. l. εἰδυίας . . . Ἀμμώνιος. Τινισθεῖς can be read for Τινισαεῖς.

723. Emancipation of a Slave.

17·3 × 21·2 *cm.* A.D. 138–161.

This document, recording the formal emancipation of a female slave, follows the same formula as **722**, but is simpler and more compressed. A good deal is lost at the beginnings of the lines, including, unfortunately, the details concerning the λύτρα; but a comparison with **722** renders the general sense clear enough. Cf. the introd. to that papyrus.

1 [Ἔτους Αὐτοκρατόρος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σε]-
βαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς (2nd hand) Δύστρου α Τῦβι α (1st hand) ἐν
Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος

2 ἐπ' ἀγορανόμων ἀφεῖκεν ἐλευθέραν ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον] Διοδώρου τοῦ Ἀγαθείνου μητρὸς Τσεεὶ Θέωνος Ἡρακλείδου

3 30 letters ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως ἐν ἀγυιᾷ τὴ]ν ὑπάρχ[ου]σαν αὐτῷ οἰκογενῆ ἐκ δούλης Δημητροῦτος

4 δούλην 50 letters]δε . . [. γν]ωστὴρ τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως Σαραπίων Ἀσκληπιάδου

5 55 letters (2nd hand) ὡς] (ἐτῶν) ν ο[ὐλὴ] ποδ(ὶ) ἀριστ(ερῷ) (1st hand) ἐν ἀγυιᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ (2nd hand) διὰ Χαιρήμ(ονος) τοῦ σὺν ἄλ(λοις)

6 50 letters]

1. θηβαΐδος Pap. 3. ὕπαρχουσαν Pap. 5. αγυΐα Pap.

2. τοῦ seems to have been omitted before Ἡρακλείδου. The name Τσεεί occurs also in **76**. 5 μητρὸς Τσεεὶ Καλλίου.

4. The vestiges following]δε possibly represent the γν of γνωστήρ, the intervening space being accounted for by the junction at this point of two selides. Shorter blank spaces have been left in the corresponding part of the two preceding lines. In that case ἔστιν] δὲ γνωστήρ should be read; but the traces do not suit γν particularly well, and there is no ἔστιν δέ in **496**. 16 where a γνωστήρ is mentioned at the end of a contract. A description of the slave and perhaps the amount of the λύτρα were given at the beginning of this line (cf. **722**. 15 sqq.); but] δέκα is not a possible reading.

5. After σὺν ἄλ(λοις) the papyrus not improbably proceeded ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου; cf. **96**. 2 (corr. by Wilcken) ὁ σὺν ἄλ(λοις) ἐπὶ τῆ(ς) ἐνκυκλ[ίου]. This restoration would accord very well with our present explanation of the position occupied by the writers of **48** and **49** (cf. **722**. 19, note); but what exactly διά implies here is uncertain.

724. Apprenticeship to a Shorthand-Writer.

18·3 × 21·3 *cm.* A.D. 155.

Contract whereby an ex-cosmetes of Oxyrhynchus apprenticed his slave to a shorthand-writer for two years to be taught to read and write shorthand, the teacher receiving 120 drachmae in all. The contract was drawn up by an unprofessional scribe, and the language is often confused.

Πα[ν]εχώτης ὁ καὶ Πανάρης τῶν κεκοσμητευκότων τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως διὰ Γεμέλλου φίλου Ἀπολλωνίῳ σημιογράφῳ χαίρειν. συνέστησά σοι Χαιράμμωνα δοῦλον πρὸς μάθησιν σημείων ὧν ἐπίσταται ὁ υἱός σου Δι[ο]νύσιος ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Φαμενὼθ τοῦ

5 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μισθοῦ τοῦ συμπεφω
νημένου πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι χωρὶς ἑορτι-
κῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχες τὴν πρώτην δόσιν ἐν δραχμαῖς τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ
δευτέραν λήψῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνειληφότος τὸ κομεντάρ[ι]ον ὅλον ἐν δρα-
χ[μ]αῖς τ[εσσ]αράκοντα, τὴν δὲ τρίτην λήψομαι ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ
10 παιδὸς ἐκ παντὸς λόγου πεζοῦ γράφοντος καὶ ἀναγεινώσ[κον]τος ἀμέμπτως
τὰς {δὲ} λοιπὰς δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα. ἐὰν δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ χ[ρ]όνου αὐτὸν
ἀπαρτίσῃς οὐκ ἐκδέξομαι τὴν προκειμένην προθεσμ[ί]αν, οὐκ ἐξόντος
μοι ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τὸν παῖδα ἀποσπᾶν, παραμενεῖ δέ σ[ο]ι μετὰ [τὸ]ν χρό[νον
ὅσας
ἐὰν ἀργήσῃ ἡμέρας ἢ μῆνας. (ἔτους) ιη Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ
15 Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Φαμενὼθ ε.

3. σ of σου corr. from μ. 7. χ of δραχμαις corr. from γ. 9. l. λήψει. 12. ξ of εκδεξομαι corr. from χ. 14. η of ημερας rewritten.

'Panechotes also called Panares, ex-cosmetes of Oxyrhynchus, through his friend Gemellus, to Apollonius, writer of shorthand, greeting. I have placed with you my slave Chaerammon to be taught the signs which your son Dionysius knows, for a period of two years dating from the present month Phamenoth of the 18th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord at the salary agreed upon between us, 120 silver drachmae, not including feast-days; of which sum you have received the first instalment amounting to 40 drachmae, and you will receive the second instalment consisting of 40 drachmae when the boy has learnt the whole system, and the third you will receive at the end of the period when the boy writes fluently in every respect and reads faultlessly, viz. the remaining 40 drachmae. If you make him perfect within the period, I will not wait for the aforesaid limit; but it is not lawful for me to take the boy away before the end of the period, and he shall remain with you after the expiration of it for as many days or months as he may have done no work. The 18th year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Phamenoth 5.'

6. χωρὶς ἑορτικῶν: sc. ἡμερῶν (cf. **725**. 36–7), though the phrase is out of place.

8. κομεντάρ[ι]ον: a Graecized form of *commentarium* seems to be intended, though the doubtful μ is more like λο.

11–3. The clause οὐκ ἐξόντος κ.τ.λ., which is regularly found in contracts of apprenticeship (cf. e. g. **725**. 53–6), comes in somewhat awkwardly here after the clause ἐὰν δὲ ἐντὸς κ.τ.λ. The meaning is that if the boy was perfect in less than two years, his owner would not insist on his staying with the teacher unless the teacher wished to keep him, but the boy's owner was prevented from taking him away before the boy was perfect and so evading the payment of the second and third instalments.

725. Apprenticeship to a Weaver.

30·7 × 11 *cm.* A.D. 183.

A contract between Ischyrion and Heraclas, in which the former apprentices to the latter a boy called Thonis, probably the ward of Ischyrion, for five years, to be taught the trade of weaving. Arrangements are made for the provision of wages (after two years and seven months) and clothes for Thonis by Heraclas on an ascending scale, and for the case of Thonis' absence from his work for more than the 20 days allowed for holidays. Cf. **275**, a similar contract with a weaver written 120 years previously, upon which the supplements in ll. 1–5 are based.

[Ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ἰσ]χυρίων Ἡραδίωνος
[μητρὸς . . . . . ἀπ' Ὀξυ]ρύγχων πόλεως καὶ
[Ἡρακλᾶς Σαραπίωνος το]ῦ καὶ Λέοντος Ἡρακλεί-
δ[ο]υ μ[ητρὸς . . . . . ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
5 [γέρ]διο[ς ὁ μὲν Ἰσχυρίων ἐγ]δεδόσθαι τῷ Ἡρα-
[κλᾷ] τὸν το[ῦ . . . . . .] . . [. . .] ἀδελφοῦ
. [.] . ον Θῶν[ιν ἀ]φήλ[ικα π]ρὸς [μ]άθησιν τῆς δη-
λ[ο]υμένης [τέ]χνης ἀπὸ νεομη[νίας τοῦ] ἑξῆς
μ[η]νὸς Φαῶφ[ι] ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη πέ[ντε, κ]αὶ παρ-
10 έξει αὐτὸν προσεδρεύοντα τῷ διδασκάλῳ
ἐπὶ τὸν δηλο[ύμε]νον χρ[ό]νον καθ' ἑκάστην
ἡμέραν ἀπὸ ἀν[ατολῆς] ἡ[λίου] μέχρι δύσεως,
ποιοῦντα πάντ[α τὰ ἐπιταχθ]ησόμενα [α]ὐτῷ
ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ[ιδασκάλ]ου ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοί-
15 ων μαθητῶν, [τρεφόμ]ενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσχυ-
[ρί]ωνος. κ[αὶ τὰ μὲν] πρῶτα ἔτη δύο
καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἐνιαυτοῦ
οὐδὲν δώσει ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς ὁ Ἡρα-
κλᾶς, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς μησὶ πέντε τοῦ αὐ-
20 τοῦ τρίτου ἐνιαυτοῦ χορηγήσει ὁ Ἡρα-
κλᾶς ὑπὲρ μισθῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαθητοῦ
κατὰ μῆνα δραχμὰς δεκάδυο κ[α]ὶ τῷ τε-

τάρτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁμοίως κατὰ μῆνα
ὑπὲρ μισθῶν δραχμὰς δεκάεξ καὶ τῷ
25 πέμπτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁμοίως κατὰ μῆ-
να δραχμὰς εἴκοσι τέσσαρας, καὶ κατασκευ-
άσει ὁ Ἡρακλᾶς τῷ αὐτῷ μαθητῇ τῷ μὲν
ἐνεστῶτι τετάρτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει
χ[ι]τῶνα ἄξιον δραχμῶν δεκάεξ, τῷ [δὲ
30 ἰσιόντι κε (ἔτει) ἕτερον χιτῶνα ἄξιον δ[ρα-
χμῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ [τ]ῷ κϛ (ἔτει) ὁμοίως ἄλλο[ν
χιτῶ[ν]α ἄξιον δραχμῶν εἴ[κ]οσι τε[σσάρων,
κ[α]ὶ τῷ κζ (ἔτει) ἄλλον χιτῶνα [ἄ]ξιον δ[ραχμῶν
εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, καὶ τῷ κη (ἔτει) ὁμοίως ἄλλ[ον] χιτῶ-
35 να ἄξιον δραχμῶν τριάκοντα δύο. ἀρ-
γήσει δὲ ὁ παῖς εἰς λόγον ἑορτῶν κατ' ἔτος
ἡμέρας εἴκοσι, οὐδενὸς ἐκκρουομένου
τ[ῶ]ν μισθῶν τ̣ούτων ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου ἐὰν
χορηγηθῇ μισθός, ἐὰν δὲ πλείονας τού-
40 τῶν ἀργήσῃ [ἢ ἀσ]θενήσῃ ἢ ἀτακτήσῃ ἢ
δι' ἄλλην τιν[ὰ αἰ]τίαν ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὰς
[ἴσ]ας ἐπάναγκε[ς] παρέξει αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰσχυρί
ων τῷ διδασκά[λ]ῳ ἡμέρας παραμένον-
τα καὶ ποιοῦντ[α] πάντα καθὼς πρόκειται
45 χωρὶς μισθοῦ, τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
Ἰσχυρίωνος, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑστάσθαι.
ὁ [δ]ὲ Ἡρακλᾶς εὐδοκῶν τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ ἐκ
δειδάξειν τὸν μαθητὴν τὴν δηλουμέ-
νην τέχνην ἐν τῷ πενταετῖ χρόνῳ
50 καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται καὶ χορηγήσειν
τοὺς μηνιαίους μισθοὺς καθὼς πρόκει-
τα[ι] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀγδόου μηνὸς τοῦ τρίτου ἐνιαυ-
τοῦ. καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶ αὐτῶν παρα-
βαίνειν τι τῶν προκειμένων ἢ ὁ παραβὰς
55 ἐκτείσει τῷ ἐνμένοντι ἐπιτείμου δραχμὰς
ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας. κύριον
τὸ ὁμολόγημα. (ἔτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος

Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου
Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ
60 Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Θὼθ κε.

2nd hand Ἡρακλᾶς Σαραπ(ίωνος) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Λέοντος τέθειμαι τὸ
ὁμολόγημα καὶ εὐδοκῶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκ(ειμένοις).
Θῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Μωροῦς Ἁρθώνιος ἔγραψ[α
ὑπὲρ αὐ(τοῦ) μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γράμμ(ατα).

16. τ of ετη corr. from ξ. 30. ϊσιοντι Pap. 34. αλλ[ον above the line. 35. ξι of αξιον corr. from δο. 52. ογδοου corr 56. ϊσας Pap. 63. ς of μωρους rewritten (?).

'Ischyrion son of Heradion and . . ., of Oxyrhynchus, and Heraclas son of Sarapion also called Leon, son of Heraclides, his mother being . . ., of the said city, weaver, agree with each other as follows:—Ischyrion on the one part that he has apprenticed to Heraclas . . . Thonis, a minor, to be taught the art of weaving for a period of five years starting from the 1st of next month, Phaophi, and will produce him to attend the teacher for the stipulated period every day from sunrise to sunset, performing all the orders that may be given to him by the said teacher on the same terms as the other apprentices, and being fed by Ischyrion. For the first 2 years and 7 months of the 3rd year Heraclas shall pay nothing for the boy's wages, but in the remaining 5 months of the said 3rd year Heraclas shall pay for the wages of the said apprentice 12 drachmae a month, and in the 4th year likewise for wages 16 drachmae a month, and in the 5th year likewise 24 drachmae a month; and Heraclas shall furnish for the said apprentice in the present 24th year a tunic worth 16 drachmae, and in the coming 25th year a second tunic worth 20 drachmae, and likewise in the 26th year another tunic worth 24 drachmae, and in the 27th year another tunic worth 28 drachmae, and likewise in the 28th year another tunic worth 32 drachmae. The boy shall have 20 holidays in the year on account of festivals without any deduction from his wages after the payment of wages begins; but if he exceeds this number of days from idleness or ill-health or disobedience or any other reason, Ischyrion must produce him for the teacher during an equivalent number of days, during which he shall remain and perform all his duties, as aforesaid, without wages, being fed by the said Ischyrion, because the contract has been made on these terms. Heraclas on the other part consents to all these provisions, and agrees to instruct the apprentice in the aforesaid art within the period of 5 years as thoroughly as he knows it himself, and to pay the monthly wages as above, beginning with the 8th month of the 3rd year. Neither party is permitted to violate any of the aforesaid provisions, the penalty for such violation being a fine of 100 drachmae to the party abiding by the contract and to the Treasury an equal sum. This agreement is valid. The 24th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, Thoth 25. I, Heraclas son of Sarapion also called Leon, have made this contract and consent to all the aforesaid provisions. I, Thonis also called Morous, son of Harthonis, wrote for him as he was illiterate.'

726. Appointment of a Representative.

20 × 9·2 *cm.* A.D. 135.

This is an agreement by which Apollonius authorizes another person to appear for him in some legal proceedings in which he was concerned, being prevented by illness from attending in person; cf. **97** and **261**, which are contracts of the same kind. The document is incomplete, the name of the representative and the date not having been filled in.

Ἔτους ἐννεακαιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τρα[ι]ανοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβ[ι] ἐν Ὀξυρύγ-
χων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος. ὁμο-
5 *λογεῖ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλων[ί]ου*
τοῦ Δι[ο]γένους μητρὸς Τανεχω-
ταρίου τῆς [καὶ] Εὐτέρπης Διογέ-
νους ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως

ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀγυιᾷ,
10 *οὐ δυνάμενος δι' ἀ[σ]θένειαν*
πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ [τ]ὸν τοῦ νομοῦ
διαλογισμ[ό]ν, αὐτόθεν συν-
εστακέναι τὸν
τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον ποιησό-
15 *μενον περὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν*
ζητηθησομέ[ν]ων ἐπί τε τοῦ
κρατίστου ἡγεμ[ό]νος Πετρωνίου
[Μαμ]ερτείνου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατή-
[γο]υ Γελλίου Βά[σ]σου ἢ κ[α]ὶ ἐφ' ἑτέ-
20 *ρων κριτῶν κ[αὶ] πάντα ἐπιτελέ-*
σοντα περὶ τῶν [κ]ατὰ τὴν σύστασιν,
εὐδοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις.
[κυρία ἡ ὁμολο]γία.

'The 19th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Tubi , at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. Apollonius son of Apollonius son of Diogenes, his mother being Tanechotarion also called Euterpe, daughter of Diogenes, of Oxyrhynchus, acknowledges to , of the said city (the contract taking place in the street), since he is unable through sickness to make the voyage to the assize of the nome, that he has forthwith appointed to represent him in the inquiry to be held against him before his highness the praefect Petronius Mamertinus or the epistrategus Gellius Bassus or other judges, and to carry out everything concerned with the trial; for he gives his consent on these terms. The agreement is valid.'

10. *δι' ἀ[σ]θένειαν*: cf. **261**. 12 *διὰ γυναικείαν ἀσθένειαν.*

14. *τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*: so no doubt in **97**. 3; the word after *Νικάνορα* there is perhaps a patronymic.

19. *Γελλίου Βά[σ]σου*: Bassus is mentioned as epistrategus seven years earlier in **237**. vii. 22.

727. Delegation of the Duties of a Guardian.

33·3 × 15 *cm.* A.D. 154.

This is a deed drawn up by two brothers, who were Roman citizens and owned property at Oxyrhynchus, authorizing an agent to act in their absence from Egypt for a nephew and niece whose guardians they were. The document, which is called a *συγχώρησις*, is addressed to the archidicastes, whose official cognizance of the transaction was desired. Other instances of private contracts being sent to the archidicastes are **268**, B. G. U. 729 and 741, the juristic significance of which is discussed by Gradenwitz, *Einführung*, pp. 91–2, and Mitteis, *Archiv*, I. p. 350. It is noticeable that, with the exception of **268**, the persons concerned in all these cases are Roman citizens, and that the documents usually take the form of a *συγχώρησις*. The procedure here is apparently to be distinguished from that exemplified in **719** ; cf. introd. to that papyrus.

Ι̣[.]ρ̣[.]μ[. .]ει Ἰσι̣[δ]ώρου γενομένου ἐξηγητοῦ υἱῷ
γενομένῳ στρατηγῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῇ
καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμ[ε]λίᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
κριτηρ[ί]ων διὰ [Δ]ημητρίου Ἡρακλείδου γενομένου
5 *ἐξηγη[τ]οῦ υἱῷ διέπ[οντ]ι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιδικαστείαν*
παρὰ Γαίων Μαρκίων Ἀπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Διο-
γέν[ο]υς καὶ Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ ὡς
χρηματίζομεν καὶ παρὰ Ὠφελᾶ τοῦ Ὠφελᾶτος τῶν
ἀπ' [Ὀ]ξ[υ]ρύνχων πόλεως. συνχωροῦσι οἱ Γάιοι Μάρκι-
10 *οι Ἀπίων ὁ καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀπολινάριος ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς*
οὐ δυν[ά]μενοι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τὸν ἰς Αἴγυπτον πλοῦν ποι-
ήσασθ[α]ι συνεστακέναι τὸν προγεγραμμένον Ὠφελᾶν
ὄντα καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυνχεί-
τῃ νομῷ φροντιστὴν καὶ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν συνχώρησιν
15 *φροντιοῦντα καὶ ἐπιμελησόμενον ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπι-*
τροπεύουσιν ἀφηλίκων ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφιδῶν Οὐαλερί-
ων Θεοδότου τοῦ καὶ Πωλίωνος καὶ Ἀπολλωναρίου
τῆς καὶ Νεικαρέτης ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπαιτήσοντα φόρους
καὶ ἐγμ[ι]σθώσοντα ἃ ἐὰν [δ]έον ἦν καὶ καταστησόμενον

20 πρὸς οὓς ἐὰν δέῃ καὶ γένῃ διαπωλήσοντα ἃ ἐὰν δέον
ᾖ τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει, διὸ τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ὄντας συνχρηματίζειν τῷ Ὠφελᾷ ἕκαστα [τ]ῶν προκειμένων ἐπιτελοῦντι, καὶ λ[όγο]υς ὧν ἐὰν ἐπιτελέσῃ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον διαπε[μ]ψόμενον [αὐτοῖ]ς πάντα δὲ ἐπιτελέσοντα κα-
25 θὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς παροῦσι ἐξῆν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ συνιστανόμενος Ὠφελᾶς εὐδοκεῖ τῇδε τῇ συνχωρήσει, κυρίων ὄντων ὧν ἔχουσι ὅ τε Ἀπίων ὁ καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀπολινάριος ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀλλήλων γραμμάτων παντοίων πάντων. ἀξ[ι]οῦ(μεν). ἔτους ἑπτακα[ι]δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρο(ς)
30 Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀν[τ]ωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Μεχεὶρ β.

2nd hand Ἀμμώνιος . . . . α( )

5. l. υἱοῦ διέπ[οντ]ος. 6. ο of διο corr. from α? 8. l. Ὠφελᾶτος τοῦ Ὠ. or Ὠφελᾶτος Ὠ.? 10. ἰουλιανος Pap. 24. l. διαπε[μ]ψομένῳ . . . ἐπιτελέσοντι.

'To . . . , son of Isidorus the ex-exegetes, late strategus of the city, priest, archidicastes and superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts, through the deputy archidicastes Demetrius son of Heraclides the ex-exegetes, from Gaius Marcius Apion also called Diogenes and Gaius Marcius Apolinarius also called Julianus and however we are styled, and from Ophelas son of Ophelas, of Oxyrhynchus. Gaius Marcius Apion also called Diogenes and Gaius Marcius Apolinarius also called Julianus, being at present unable to make the voyage to Egypt, agree that they have appointed the aforesaid Ophelas, who is the agent for their property in the Oxyrhynchite nome, by the terms of the present authorization to act for and take charge of their brother's children Valerius Theodotus also called Polion and Valeria Apollonarion also called Nicarete, who are minors and their wards, and further to collect rents and to make such leases as may be necessary, and to appear against persons and to sell off produce as may be needful on his own authority. Accordingly let those concerned do business with Ophelas in the discharge of all the aforesaid duties; and he shall forward to the said parties accounts of all his acts every month, and shall have power to act in all things no less than they themselves would have if present. Ophelas the appointed representative assents to this authorization; and all bonds of every kind which Apion also called Diogenes and Apolinarius also called Julianus hold of each other remains in force. We request (your concurrence). The 17th year of the Emperor Caesar Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mecheir 2.'

19. καταστησόμενον: for καθίστασθαι in the sense of appearing at legal proceedings cf. e.g. B. G. U. 613. 14 κατέστημεν ἐπὶ Θεο[δώρου, and the frequent instances of κατάστασις.

21. The construction is here somewhat awkward, the series of future participles which depend upon συνεστακέναι in l. 12 being interrupted by the parenthetical sentence διὸ τοὺς . . . συγχρηματίζειν . . . ἐπιτελοῦντι, which would better have been kept till the end.

29. ἀξ[ι]οῦ(μεν): cf. 268. 19 ἀξιοῦμεν ὡς καθήκ[ε]ι, and B. G. U. 729. 19 where ἀξιοῦ(μεν)

stands by itself, as here. Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 176) and Mitteis (*ibid.* p. 350) both consider that the object to be supplied after *ἀξιοῦμεν* is *σωματισμόν*, on the strength of **268**, where the preceding sentence is *ἐν δὲ τοῖς προκειμένοις οὐκ ἔνεστι σωματ(ισμός)*. This was also our own view when editing that papyrus; but in consideration of the uncertainty concerning the meaning of the word *σωματισμός*, and the fact that here as well as in B. G. U. 729 *ἀξιοῦ(μεν)* is found by itself, we retain the doubts expressed in the note upon P. Fay. Towns 33. 18–9 as to whether in **268** *ἀξιοῦμεν* is to be connected with the clause immediately preceding. We should therefore prefer to understand some more general term.

728. Sale of a Crop.

27 × 11·9 *cm.* A.D. 142.

A contract of a somewhat novel character, called a *καρπωνεία*, by which two tenants sell part of their crops standing, the money to be paid by the purchaser within a given time direct to the landlord, who has the same rights of execution as in the case of a loan. At the end is an acknowledgement from the landlord of the receipt of the money.

[Ἐκαρ]πώνησαν Παθώτης καὶ Λ[ί]βιος ἀμφότεροι χρη-
[ματίζον]τ̣[ε]ς ἐγ μητρὸς Ἁρσεῖτο[ς] ἀπὸ κώμης Θώ-
[σβεως Διο]γένει Ἀμόιτος μητρὸς Ἀβεῖτος ἀπὸ
τῆς αὐτῆς Θώσβεως ἀφ' ὧν κ[αὶ] αὐτοὶ γεωργοῦ-
5 σ̣[ι] Ἀπίωνος Ὡρίωνος ἀπ' Ὀξυ[ρύγ]χων πόλεως
περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Θῶσβιν ἐκ τοῦ Χαριξείνου
κλ[ή]ρου ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν εἴκ[οσ]ι ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ ἀπη-
[λιώ]του μέρους χόρτου ἀρούρας τρεῖς ἐκ
γ[εω]μετρίας ἀργυρίου δρ[α]χμῶν διακοσίων
10 [ἑβδ]ομήκοντα ἕξ, ἐπὶ [τ]ῷ τὸν ⟨κε⟩καρπωνη-
[μ]ένον ἑαυτῷ κόψαι καὶ μετενέγκαι ὅ-
[π]ου ἐὰν αἱρῆται καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δρα-
[χμὰς] διακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα ἓξ μετα-
[βαλέσ]θαι τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ Ἀπίωνι ὄν-
15 [τ]ι κυρίῳ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐντὸς Ἐπεὶφ δεκά-
[της] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πέμπτου ἔτους
[Ἀντ]ωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ἐὰν δὲ

μὴ ἀποδοῖ τῇ ὡρισμένῃ προθεσμίᾳ
ἐκτίσει τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διακο-
20 σίας ἑβδομήκοντα ἓξ σὺν ἡμιωλίᾳ καὶ τό-
κον δραχμιαῖον ἑκάστης μνᾶς κατὰ μῆνα
ἕκαστον, τῆς πράξεως οὔσης τῷ Ἀπίωνι
ἔκ τε τοῦ Διογένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
[τ]ων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.
25 [κ]υρία ἡ καρπωνεία. ἔτους πέμπτου Αὐτοκράτορος
[Καίσ]αρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου
[Σε]βαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Φαρμοῦθι κγ. (2nd hand) Παθώ-

[τ]ης καὶ Λίβιος ἀμφότεροι ἐκ μητρὸς
Ἁρσεῖτος ⟨κ⟩εκαρπονήκαμεν τῷ Διόγενει
30 τὰς τοῦ χόρτου ἀρούρας τρεῖς ἐκ γεωμε-
τρίας φόρου ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν δια-
κοσίων ὀδομήκοντα ἓξ ὡς πρόκει-
ται. Διονύσιος Διονύσιος ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰτότων γράμ⟨μ⟩ατα.
35 χρόνος ὁ αὐτός.

3rd hand Ἀπίων Ὠρείωνος Διογένει Ἀμόιτος
χαίρειν. ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ τὰς συνπε-
φωνημένας ὑπὲρ τιμῆς χόρτου ἀργυρί-
[ο]υ δραχμὰς διακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα
40 [ἓξ κ]αὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ ὡς πρόκειται.
[(ἔτους) ε Ἀ]ντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
[Ἐπε]ὶφ β.

20. l. ἡμιολίᾳ. 32. l. ἑβδομήκοντα. 33. l. Διονύσιος Διονυσίου. 34. l. εἰδότων.

'Pathotes and Livius, both styled as having Harseis for their mother, from the village of Thosbis, have sold to Diogenes son of Amois and Abeis, from the said Thosbis, out of the land belonging to Apion son of Horion, of Oxyrhynchus, which they cultivate at Thosbis in the holding of Charixinus, consisting of 20 arourae, the crop of hay upon three arourae as fixed by a survey in the eastern part for 276 drachmae of silver, on condition that Diogenes may cut the crop bought by him and transport it to any place that he may choose, and shall hand over to the aforesaid Apion who is the owner of the land the 276 drachmae of silver before Epeiph 10 of the present 5th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. If he fails to pay it within the stipulated date he shall forfeit the 276 drachmae of silver increased by one half, with interest at the rate of a drachma a month for each mina, Apion

having the right of execution upon both Diogenes and all his property as if in accordance with a legal decision. This sale of a crop is valid. The 5th year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pharmouthi 23. We, Pathotes and Livius, our mother being Harseis, have sold to Diogenes the crop of 3 arourae of hay as fixed by a survey for the payment of 276 drachmae of silver, as aforesaid. I, Dionysius son of Dionysius, wrote for them as they were illiterate. The same date.

Apion son of Horion to Diogenes son of Amois, greeting. I have received from you the 276 drachmae which were agreed upon for the price of the hay and I make no complaint against you, as aforesaid. The 5th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 2.'

729. Lease of a Vineyard.

21 × 29·7 *cm.* A.D. 137.

A contract for the sub-lease of a vineyard for four years from Sarapion, who was himself a lessee (cf. l. 14), to Ammonius and Ptollas. The body of the document (ll. 1–35) is written in a very small hand in lines of exceptional length, of which the first 35–40 letters on the average are lost, while a few lines at the beginning are also wanting, being represented only by a detached fragment which is illegible and half decayed.

No extant lease of the Roman period has been drawn up with such elaboration of detail as the present document, and though P. Tebt. I. 105, of the second century B. C., is equally long its formula is quite different. Of the known leases of vineyards C. P. R. 244 is a mere fragment, and P. Brit. Mus. 163 is incomplete in the most important part. Hence the restoration of the lacunae in **729**, which was moreover written by a somewhat careless scribe, is far from easy, and the sense of some of the provisions is obscure, though the general construction and meaning are usually intelligible.

The rent paid for the ἀμπελών, the extent of which does not appear, was (ll. 36–7) half the vine produce in addition to 50 jars of wine and perhaps a sum of money or corn ; but that does not seem to include the rent of a piece of dry land which had once been a vineyard (χερσάμπελος, l. 30). This is leased (ll. 30–32) for three years, starting from a year after the date of the contract itself, and was to be cultivated as the lessees chose with the usual exceptions of the more exhausting crops, the rent being 60 drachmae and perhaps half the produce. The ἀμπελών is subdivided in l. 22 into a κτῆμα and a καλαμεία. The former term refers mainly to the vines (though including a rose garden, *v. inf.*), the latter apparently to a crop of some kind of reeds ; but the passages dealing with the καλαμεία (ll. 3–4 and 25–7) are unfortunately very imperfect,

and the connexion between the vines and the *κάλαμος* is not made clear; cf. l. 3, note. Lines 5–10 deal with the embankments (*χωματισμός*), ll. 10–11 with the manuring (*κοπρισμός*), l. 11 with the watching of the fruit (*ὀπωροφυλακία*), ll. 12–8 with the irrigation, for which the lessees were to receive a loan of both money and cattle, ll. 18–22 with the payment of the rent and penalties for failure to carry out the terms of the contract. Lines 22–7 regulate the condition in which the vineyard was to be delivered up at the end of the lease, while ll. 27–30 are concerned with the apportionment of the various *ἔργα*. After a section dealing with the lease of the *χερσάμπελος* (ll. 30–2) follows one concerning a rose garden in the *κτῆμα* (ll. 32–3), and the lease concludes with the usual clause assigning the taxes to the lessor (ll. 33–4), and another by which two rooms in a farmhouse are secured to the lessees (l. 34). Lines 35–8 contain the signature of the lessees, written for them in a large uncultivated hand by Ptolemaeus, while in ll. 38–46 is a supplementary agreement in a third hand, drawn up a year after the original contract, and acknowledging firstly (ll. 38–44) the loan of the cattle mentioned in l. 16, and secondly (ll. 44–5) another loan of which the previous mention is lost.

. . . . . .

1 [67 letters] . *ου και*[15 letters]*ην δε* . [. . . . .] . . . [. . . . . .]*ανωθε*
[18 letters] . . . [

2 [40 letters] . *ἀρταβει*[11 letters *τοῦ εἰσι*]*όντος ἔτους* . . . . . *αγρα*[. . . .]*ομενα* . . . . . *κατὰ* . . . *ἥμισυ μ*[. . . . . *ἀπε*]*ργασίας κα*[. . . . . .] . *ρ*[. .] . *ονται εισ* . . *ν* . [. . . . . .

3 [39 letters]*εν ἔτι πα*[15 letters] . *ν ενχρη* . . *οντο οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τὸ ἥμ*[*ι*]*συ καὶ ὁ μεμισθωκὼς τὸ* [*ἕ*]*τερον ἥμισυ τὴν δὲ κ*[*ο*]*πὴν τ*[.] *πρὸ*[*ς*] *καλαμείαν οἱ αὐτοὶ μεμ*[*ι-*

4 [*σθωμένοι* 32 letters]*ινικων ἀπ*[*ὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος*] *ἔτους ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τριετίαν ἐάνπερ χρεία* [*ᾖ*]*ν εἰς τὴν καλαμουργίαν ἑτέρου καλάμου παρέξονται ἑαυτοῖς οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τὸν δέοντ*[*α*

5 [37 letters]*ετει ὑπὸ τοῦ μ*[*εμ*]*ισθωκό*[*τος*] *Σαραπίωνος εἰσάξουσι εἰς τὸ* [*κτ*]*ῆμα ὅ τε* {*ο*} *μεμισθωκὼς καὶ οἱ μεμισθωμένοι κοιν*[*ῶ*]*ς κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τριετί-*

6 [*αν* 29 letters *οἵ τε με*]*μισθωμένοι καὶ ὁ μεμισθω*[*κ*]*ὼς κοινῶς κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἀργυρί*[*ο*]*ν δραχμὰς τριακοσίας, ὅνπερ χοῦν εἰσοίσουσι εἰς τὸ κτῆμα κατ' ἔτος κοινῶς, ὑπολείψουσι δὲ τὸν ἀναβεβλημένον χοῦν*

7 [36 letters δ]ραχμῶν τριακοσίων, τὴν δὲ ἀν[α]βολὴν ποιήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθίμων ἀναβολῶν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου κτήματος χώματος ὑδροφυλακίαν μέχρι τοῦ ὅρους

8 [37 letters] τῷ τοῦ ἀρχαίου κτήματος μισθωτῇ, τῆς κατ' ἔτος ἀπεργασίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ χώματος ἐάνπερ χρεία ἦν ἔσται πρὸς μόνον τὸν μεμισθωκότα, τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ νεωφύτου χω-

9 [μάτων 32 letters] πρὸ{ς}ς μόνους τοὺς μεμισθωμένους, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ νοτίνου χώματος μέχρι τοῦ ὅρους, τοῦ μεμισθωκότος Σαραπίωνος παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς κατ' ἔτος ἀμισθεὶ ὄνους δεκάπεντε

10 [. . . . . , ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτου καὶ] εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τριετίαν δώσουσι τῷ μεμισθωκότι κατ' ἔτος τυροὺς ὀβολιαίους ἑκατόν. τὴν δὲ αὐταρκίαν κόπρον περιστερῶν πρὸς κοπρισμὸν τοῦ κτή-

11 [ματος δώσουσιν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ] καὶ ὁ μεμισθωκὼς κατὰ τὸ ἕτ[ερο]ν ἥμισυ. ὃν δὲ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ Σαραπίων ὀπωροφύλακα φυλάσσι⟨ν⟩ τῷ τῆς ὀπώρας καιρῷ φύλακα πέμψει, τοῦ ὀψωνίου ὄντος πρὸς αὐτὸν

12 [37 letters] μηχανῆς καὶ τῆς ταύτης κ[. . . .]ας ἔσται τὰ μὲν ξύλα πρὸς τὸν Σαραπίωνα, οἱ δὲ τεκτονικοὶ μισθοὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ τέκτονος σύνταξις ἔσται πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθωμένους. ἐὰν δὲ καινοῦ

13 [τροχοῦ 31 letters] καὶ δώσει τοῖς αὐτοῖς μεμισθωμέν[ο]ις εἰς λόγον προχρείας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχειλίας, ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογι⟨σ⟩θήσονται αἱ διδόμεναι τοῖς ὑδροπαρόχοις ὑπὲρ ποτισμῶν τοῦ αὐ-

14 [τοῦ κτήματος ἀπὸ Φαῶφι εἰκάδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶ]τος δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἕως Φαῶφι εἰκάδος τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἀκολούθως ᾗ ἔχει ὁ Σαραπίων μισθώσει ἣν καὶ εἶναι κυρίαν δραχμὰς δισχειλίας

15 [36 letters ἃ]ς ἀποδώσει αὐτοῖς τῷ μὲν Ἀθὺρ μηνὶ δ[ρ]αχμὰς διακοσίας Τῦβι ⟨διακοσίας⟩ καὶ Μεχεὶρ τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς ἑξακοσίας, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δραχμὰς τρισχειλίας ἀποδώσουσι ἐξενίαυ-

16 [τα 35 letters]τ̣ουσι οἶνον ἀτόκους. τὰ ⟨δὲ⟩ [δέο]ντα κ̣τήνη παρὰ τῷ ὑδροπαρόχῳ βόας πέντε καὶ μόσχους τρεῖς παραλήμψονται οἱ αὐτοὶ μεμισθωμένοι ἐν συντιμήσει τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ

17 [Φαῶφι τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους, καὶ συ]γ̣γράψονται τῆς συντιμ[ήσ]εως

ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ λήγοντος χρόνου. ἐὰν δὲ χρεία γένητε ἑτέρας προ-
χρήσεος δώσει αὐτοῖς ὁ μεμισθωκώς, λαβόντες καὶ τάξονται δρα-
18 [χμ 31 letters *ἐπάν]αγκον οὖν οἱ αὐτοὶ μεμ[ι]σθωμένοι ἕκαστα ἐπιτελεί-*
τωσαν ὡς πρόκιται ἀμέμπτως μηδὲν ἔκκαιρον ἐῶντος γείνεσθαι πρὸς
τὸ μὴ καταβλάπτεσθαι τὴν ἄμπελον μηδὲ
19 [35 letters *ἀπ]οδότωσαν τῷ μεμισθ[ω]κότι τὸν μὲν οἶνον παρὰ ληνὸν*
νέον ἄδολον ἑκατέρου μέρους παρέχοντος παρὰ ληνὸν τὸν αὐτάρκη
κέραμον, οὗ δὲ ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρ-
20 [*γάζωνται* 29 letters *]ομένου φυτοῦ τὸ βλάβος διπλοῦν, τοῦ δὲ κατα-*
λιπεῖν τὴν μίσθωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ἐπιτίμου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς
21 [*τοῦ τὴν μίσθωσιν μένειν κυρίαν . . . . . .]ν, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω [τ]ῷ*
μ[εμι]σθωκότι ἔκ τε τῶν μεμισθωμένων ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων εἰς
ἔκτισιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν αὐτῶν αἱρῆται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
αὐτοῖς πάν-
22 [*των καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης. καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδότ]ωσαν οἱ μεμισθω-*
μένοι τ[ὸ κτ]ῆμα καὶ τὴν καλαμείαν σύνφυτα καὶ ἐπιμεμελημένα
καὶ καθαρὰ ἀπό τε θρύου καὶ βοτάνης καὶ δείσης πάσης καὶ τὰ
φυτὰ εὐθαλοῦντα καὶ
23 [37 letters *]τι κεχαρακωμένας καὶ τὰ [το]ῦ κτήματος χώματα ἐστε-*
γασμένα καὶ ὑδροπεφυλακημένα καὶ ἃς ἂν παραλάβωσι θύρας καὶ
κλεῖς καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν ὑ⟨γ⟩ιῆ πλὴν
24 [34 letters *ποι]ήσονται τοὺς ποτισμοὺς τοῦ [κτή]ματος καὶ τῆς καλα-*
μ[είας] πεμπταίους πρὸς ἀρεσκί[αν] τοῦ Σαραπίωνος καὶ τὴν τοῦ
κατὰ τὸν Σαραπίωνα οἴνου μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῆς
25 [40 letters *]ειν ησιν κ[. . . . . .] ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνην . . . [. . . . . .]νται,*
ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ μ[εμι]σθωμένοι ὑπολείψουσι μ[ετ]ὰ τὸν χρόνον
τὸν τότε τῆς καλαμείας κάλαμον
26 [40 letters *]ν τῷ ἑξῆ[ς . . . . . .]ετι διὰ τὸ και . [. . . . . .]να*
ἑτέρῳ μισ[θ . . . . . .] . ει ἐπικείμενον τῆς κ[α]λαμείας κάλαμον
δν π[.]ρ[.]ης τοῦ διελθόντος ἔτους
27 [38 letters *Σα]ραπιων . [* 16 letters *]οκειμ[ε]ν[.* 14 letters *]ον*
οἶνον [15 letters *]ον φ . . . . . μέτρῳ π[. .] . . ι . . . . . οινικον*
τοῦ Σαραπίωνος

28 [36 letters τ]ῷ μέσῳ τοῦ κ[τήματος τὴν δὲ μη]χανὴν ἀναβαλεῖ ὁ με[μι]σθωκὼς ἰδίαις δαπάναις ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παχών, τὴν δὲ σκαφὴν τῆς πλακάδος τοῦ ὑποδοχίου ἔσται ὑπό

29 [τε τῶν μεμισθωμένων κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ] ὑπὸ τοῦ μεμισθωκότος κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισυ. τὴν δὲ κατ' ἔτος ξυλοτομίαν καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ και[ρ]ὸν ἔργων ποιήσουσι οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἐπακολουθοῦν-

30 [τος τοῦ Σαραπίωνος 20 letters]ως αὐτῷ πάντα γενέσθαι. μισθώσει δὲ ὁ μεμισθωκὼς τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτου καὶ εἰκ[ο]στοῦ ἔτους ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη τρία τὴν ἐντὸς πλαστῶν χερσάμπε-

31 [λον 33 letters ἀ]ρουρηδοῦ ὥστε κατ' ἔτος σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι οἷς ἐὰν αἱρῶνται γένεσι χωρὶς εἰσάτεως καὶ ἐχομενίου φόρου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔτος δραχμῶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν

32 [37 letters] . ἐν αἷς ἐστιν τροχὸς ὡς ἐὰν κατ' ἔτος κοινότερον συν-φωνήσωσι τὸν φόρον. τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ κτήματι ῥοδῶνα κατ' ἔτος ὄντος τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος τῶν μεμι-

33 [σθωμένων 29 letters]τα[.] παρὲξ τῆς ξυλολογείας, τῶν κατ' ἔτος πάντων τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ὄντων πρὸς τὸν Σαραπίωνα δημοσίων, ὃς καὶ ἕξει ὁ αὐτὸς Σαραπίων

34 [28 letters καὶ παρέξει] ὁ αὐτὸς Σαραπίων τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν χωρὶς ἐνοικίου ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ καμάρας δύο. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος

35 [Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶ]φι ιε. (2nd hand) Ἀμμώνις Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ Πτολλᾶς Λουκίου μεμισθώμετα τὸν ἀνπελονα ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη

36 [φόρου τῆς ἡμισείας τοῦ ἐκ]βησομένου οἰνικοῦ γενήματος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμῶ⟨ν⟩ ἡμησίας ἄλλα οἴνου κεράμια πεντήκον-

37 [τα 20 letters]α καὶ ἕκα⟨σ⟩τα ποιήσομεν ὃς πρόκειτε. Πτολεμαῖς Ζωίλου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδότον

38 [γράμματα. ἔτους δευτ]έρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραειανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαοφι ιε. (3rd hand) Ἀμμώνις

39 [Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ Πτολλᾶς Λουκίου ἔσ]χομεν παρὰ τοῦ αὐ⟨τοῦ⟩ Σαρα-πίω⟨νος⟩ καὶ τῇ κ τοῦ Φαῶφι τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου βοεικὰ κτήνη μόσχους μὲν τελείους

40 [22 letters *βόας δὲ τε]λείας τρεῖς πάντα ἐν συντειμήσει ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν δισχειλίων πεντακοσίων, ἅπερ κτήνη ἐπάναγκον θρέψομεν τῆς κατ' ἔτος γο-*

41 [*νῆς* 27 letters *]ῳν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τῆς μισθώσεως αἱρέσεως καὶ ἐγλογῆς οὔσης σοι τῷ Σαραπίωνι ἐὰν μὲν αἱρῇ τὴν συντείμησιν τῶν κτηνῶν λαβεῖν*

42 [31 letters *]υ τῆς τότε ἐσομένης α[ὐ]τῶν συντειμήσεως, κἂν μὲν ἐλάσσονες συντειμηθῇ ἀποδώσομεν τὸν ἰς συνπλήρωσιν τῆς προκει-*

43 [*μένης συντειμήσεως, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μείζο]νος ἀποδώσεις ἡμεῖν σ[ὺ ὁ] Σαραπ[ί]ων τὸ τ̣ο̣υ . . . υ̣ [ἴ]σον, ἐὰν δὲ αἱρώμεθα ἀλλάσσειν κτήνη ἢ πωλεῖν ἔξεσται ἡμεῖν μετὰ γνώμης*

44 [30 letters *τὰ ἴ]σ̣α. ἔτ[ι δ]ὲ καὶ ἔσχ[ομεν ἐν]ε̣χυρούμ[ε]να ἀλ[.....]μ̣ενα ἑκατ̣[ὸν . . . .]κ̣οντα ἃ μετὰ τ̣[ὸν χρό]ν̣ο̣ν παραδόσωμεν τὰ ἴσα σειτίνου α̣ὐ̣ . .*

45 [35 letters *]α̣τ̣[. . . .] . . . [. . . . . .] . . . [. .] . . . [. . . . . ἔτου]ς δ̣ε̣υ̣τ̣έ̣ρ̣[ου Αὐτοκράτ]ο̣ρ̣ο̣ς Καίσ̣[αρος Τίτου Αἰ]λίου Ἁδριανοῦ [Ἀντ]ωνείνου Σε[βαστοῦ*

46 [*Εὐσεβοῦς Φαῶφι κ.*]

8. l. *οὔσης* for *ἔσται*. 9. *ς μονους* above the line. *υς* of *τους* corr. from *ν*. *μεν* of *μεμισθωμενους* corr. from *κοτα*. 10. l. *κόπρου*. 13. *α* of *διδομεναι* corr. from *ο*. *π* of *υδροπαροχοις* corr. from *σ*. 14. First *τ* of *τριτου* corr. from *δ*. *μ* of *δραχμας* corr. from *σ*. l. *δραχμαὶ δισχίλιαι*. 16. *πα* of *υδροπαροχω* corr. from *φυ*. 17. *γ* of *γενητε* corr. from *ν*. l. *γένηται*. l. *προχρήσεως*. *ε* of *δωσει* corr. from *ο*. 18. l. *ἐῶντες*. 22. *α και* before *καθαρα* corr. 23. *και* before *υδροπ.* corr. 24. *αλαμ[* of *καλαμ[* corr. 28. l. *ἡ δὲ σκαφή*. *της* corr. 30. *ει* of *μισθωσει* corr. from *εαν*. 31. l. *ἰσάτεως καὶ ὀχομενίου*. 35. l. *μεμισθώμεθα τὸν ἀμπελῶνα*. 36. l. *ἡμισείας*. 37. *κει* of *προκειτε* corr. l. *ὡς πρόκειται . . . εἰδότων*. 38. l. *Φαῶφι*. 39. *παρα του αυτ(ου) σαραπιω(νος)* above the line. 42. l. *ἐλάσσονος*. 44. l. *παραδώσομεν*. *ἴσα* Pap.

3. *καλαμείαν*: that a special connexion exists between the cultivation of *κάλαμος* and vine-growing is apparent not only from the present document (cf. especially ll. 22 and 24, where the *κτῆμα* is coupled with the *καλαμεία*), but from other leases of *ἀμπελῶνες*; cf. C. P. R. 224. 11–2 *]ων καλαμουργίαν ἐκ καινῆς . . . τ]ὸν αὐτάρκη κάλαμον καὶ σχοινία*, P. Brit. Mus. 163. 22–5, where read *καὶ τὴν οὖσαν καλαμίαν ἀναχώσομεν κατ' ἔτος ἕ[καστον καὶ τὸ]ν ἀμπ[ε]λῶνα τῆι κα[λ]αμουργί[α . . . . . ο]μεν κατ' ἔτος . . .*, and P. Tebt. 120. 141 *καὶ καλαμουργή(σει) . . . . . ἕκαστος καὶ ἀντλήσει*. On the other hand *κάλαμος* was sometimes cultivated by itself, as is shown by B. G. U. 558. 13, where a *καλαμία* corresponds to an *ἐλαιών*; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 195 (*b*). 11 and B. G. U. 619. ii. 19 and 776. 10, which mention *κάλαμος Ἑλληνικός*, contrasted apparently with *κάλαμος Ἰνδικός* (P. Brit. Mus. 191. 11; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 150). In P. Tebt. 5. 199 *καλαμεία* is mentioned as being required for

embankments (cf. note *ad loc.*); but though this section dealing with κάλαμος in **729** is immediately followed by one dealing with embankments (cf. P. Brit. Mus. 163. 22) the καλαμεία in an ἀμπελών would seem to be a crop of reeds planted between or under the vines. According to l. 22 the καλαμεία equally with the κτῆμα had to be handed over σύνφυτα καὶ ἐπιμεμελημένα κ.τ.λ.

5. χοῦν is to be supplied as the object of εἰσάξουσι; cf. l. 6. In the first year of the lease the responsibility for the χωματισμός was shared equally by the lessor and lessees. In the succeeding three years (ll. 6–7) the responsibility continues to be equally divided, but a payment of 300 drachmae comes in, the nature of which is obscure.

7–9. Apparently the contract is concerned with the lease of the newly reclaimed κτῆμα, and the adjoining ἀρχαῖον κτῆμα was leased to some one else, the μισθωτής of l. 8. The embankment which is the subject of ll. 7–8 probably divided the two κτήματα, and the arrangement is that for the ὑδροφυλακία Sarapion and the other μισθωτής are jointly responsible, but for the ἀπεργασία Sarapion alone. For certain embankments of the νεόφυτον κτῆμα on the other hand the lessees were responsible, as well as for the 'southern embankment' (ll. 8–9), Sarapion supplying them with 15 donkeys annually, in return for which they were to pay him in each of the last three years of the lease 100 cheeses worth an obol apiece (ll. 9–10).

10–11. 'The necessary amount of pigeon's dung for manuring the vineyard shall be provided half by the lessees and the other half by the lessor. Sarapion shall send any guard whom he chooses in order to protect the fruit at the time of bearing, being himself responsible for the payment of him.'

12. A new waterwheel (*saḳiyeh*) was required, Sarapion paying for the wood, the lessees for the construction.

13–6. A loan of 3000 drachmae is to be advanced by Sarapion to the lessees, but from this is to be deducted 2000 dr. paid to the persons who supplied the water for the current year in accordance with Sarapion's lease of the land from them. The remaining 1000 dr. were to be paid in three instalments in the earlier half of the year. In l. 15 only 800 dr. are accounted for, but it is more likely that διακοσίας has been omitted after Τῦβι than that it is to be supplied at the beginning of l. 15. The whole 3000 dr. were to be repaid to Sarapion without interest at the time of the vintage towards the end of the first year of the lease. The large amount paid for water makes it probable that this came not from a well but from a newly-made channel. For ἐξενίαν[τα in l. 15 cf. P. Amh. 85. 14, 86. 11, and P. Par. 25. 12. The second of these instances, in which ἐξενίαυτα follows κατ' ἔτος, shows that it must have meant something different; and the sense 'annually' would not suit the present passage, for it is clear that the loan which is the subject of ll. 13–6 refers to a single occasion; cf. l. 17, where it is contrasted with the ἑτέρα πρόχρησις. The most suitable meaning for ἐξενίαυτα in all these contexts is 'within (or 'for') the whole year.' In B. G. U. 920. 18 the editor reads ἐνενίαυτα κατ' ἔτος, where too ἐξενίαυτα was probably intended if not the actual reading.

16–7. With this passage cf. ll. 39–44, which refer to the carrying out of this stipulation. The oxen were required for working the waterwheel, and according to l. 39 were actually supplied a year after the date of the lease by Sarapion, but from the present passage they would seem to have been deposited with the persons who supplied the water. They were to be received 'at a valuation' and an agreement was at the same time to be made about the return of this valuation at the expiration of the lease. The details of the repayment are specified in ll. 41–4.

17–8. The 2000 drachmae for water (l. 14) were probably an annual charge, and hence a second loan from the lessor might be required. For this the lessees paid interest, if we restore δρα[χμιαῖον τόκον.

18–24. 'The said lessees are therefore required to perform all the aforesaid duties blamelessly, leaving nothing undone at the right season, so that no damage may accrue to the vineyard . . . and they shall pay to the lessor the wine at the vat, new and unadulterated, each party providing at the vat a sufficient number of jars, and for every failure to perform work at the proper time...twice the amount of the damage, and for giving up the lease before the end of the period a fine of 500 silver drachmae and to the Treasury an equal sum without affecting the validity of the lease, and the lessor shall have the right of execution both upon the lessees who are each other's sureties for payment, and upon whichever of them he chooses and upon all their property, as if in accordance with a legal decision. And at the end of the period the lessees shall deliver the vine-land and reed-land planted, well cared for, free from rushes, grass and weeds of all kinds, and the plants healthy . . . , and the . . . palisaded, the embankments of the vineyard firm and watertight, and also any doors and keys they may have received, and the waterwheel in good repair except . . . ; and they shall irrigate the vine-land and reed-land every fifth day to the satisfaction of Sarapion, and shall transfer Sarapion's share of the wine from the . . . .'

28. The *μηχανή* is presumably that mentioned in l. 12, but the technical meaning of *ἀναβάλλειν* here is obscure. *πλακάς* is a new word meaning the lower part of the wine receptacle, which was below the ground level.

30. The lacuna at the beginning may be filled up *ὥστε πάντα ἀρεσκόντ]ως*; cf. l. 24.

30–2. This *χερσάμπελος* is distinct from the *ἀμπελών* which is the subject of the main contract; cf. introd. *ἐντὸς πλαστῶν* in l. 30 seems to mean 'enclosed by a mud wall.'

32. *ῥοδῶνα*: this is the first mention in a papyrus of the cultivation of roses. In P. Brit. Mus. 163. 17, where for the editor's *ἀφρ[ο]δι[σί]ων* Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 150) suggested *ἀργ(ῶν) ῥ[ο]δίων*, the correct reading is *ἀγρ[ο]δρύων*, i.e. *ἀκροδρύων*.

40–4. The total number of calves to be provided according to l. 16 was 3, and of *βόες* 5. Here however the calves were probably 5, for the *βόες* are 3. The cattle were valued at 2500 dr. altogether, and at the end of the lease Sarapion had the choice of receiving this sum or the animals at a new valuation. If this was less than the former one, the lessees had to make up the difference to Sarapion. If the fresh valuation was higher, apparently Sarapion paid them the difference. If the lessees wished to change or sell the cattle, they might do so with Sarapion's consent.

44–5. These lines clearly refer to something contained in the main contract, but though we should expect a mention here of the *χερσάμπελος* (ll. 30–2) which was to be leased after one year, the remains of l. 44 suggest something quite different, which must have occurred in one of the lost provisions.

730. Lease of Domain Land.

19·5 × 7·3 *cm.* A.D. 130.

A sub-lease of 5 arourae of domain land at Senepta for one year, at the rent of 24 drachmae per aroura, with an extra payment of 4 drachmae. The crop specified is grass, while the other provisions follow the usual formulae; cf. e.g. **499**.

Ἐμίσθωσεν Σαραπίων Ἡρώδου
ἀπ' Ὀξυ[ρ]ύγχων πόλεως Οὐαλέρις
Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ κώμης Σενέπτα
Πέρσῃ [τ]ῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς τὸ ἐνεσ-
5 τὸς πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος
Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγρ⟨αφ⟩ομένης εἰς αὐ-
τὸν βασιλικῆς γῆς ἀρούρας π[έν-
τε ἐκ τοῦ Δάμωνος κλήρου,
10 ὥστ[ε] ταύτας ξυλαμῆσαι χόρ-
τῳ ε̣ἰ̣[ς κοπὴν κα]ὶ̣ ἐπ̣[ινο]μ̣ήν,
φόρο[υ] ἀποτάκτου ἀργυρίου δρα-
χμῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ σπον-
δῆς τῶν ὅλων παιδαρίοις δρα-
15 χμὰς τέσσαρας ἀκινδύνου
παντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν ὑπὲρ
τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων
πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωκότα, ὃν καὶ
κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶν
20 ἕως ἂν τὸν φόρον κομίση-
ται. τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως βε-
βαιουμένης ἀποδότω ὁ με-
μισθωμέν[ος] τὸν φόρον τῷ
Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους,
25 ὃ δ' ἂν προσοφειλέσῃ ὁ με-
μισθωμένος ἀποτεισάτω
μεθ' ἡμιολίας, καὶ ἡ πρᾶ-
ξις ἔστω τῷ μεμισθωκότι
ἔκ τε τοῦ μεμισθωμένου
30 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
αὐτῷ πάντων. κυρία ἡ μί-
σθωσις. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ Ἀθὺρ ιθ. (2nd hand)
Οὐαλέρις
35 Ἀπολλωνίου μεμίσθ[ω-
[μαι τὴ]ν̣ γῆν̣ [. .] . . [. .] . . .
[. . . ἀρ]γυ[ρίου δραχμῶν ἑκα-
[τὸν εἴκοσι . . .
. . . . . .

On the verso

ιε (ἔτους) μί(σθωσις) ἀ̣ρ̣ουρ[ῶ]ν̣ ε̣ [. .] . . . . Σενέπ(τα).

2. l. Οὐαλερίῳ. 20. ο of τον corr. from α. 21. ε of δε corr. from ι (?). 39. σενεπ(τα) above [. .] . . . .

'Sarapion son of Herodes, of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Valerius son of Apollonius, of the village of Senepta, a Persian of the Epigone, for the current 15th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, out of the domain land standing in his name 5 arourae in the holding of Damon, to be cultivated with grass for cutting and grazing at a fixed rent of 120 silver drachmae and 4 drachmae for the slaves for a libation on account of all the land, the rent being secured against every risk, and the taxes on the land being paid by the lessor, who shall also be the owner of the crop until he receives the rent. If this lease is guaranteed, the lessee shall pay the rent in the month Pauni of the said year, and the lessee shall forfeit any arrears increased by one half; and the lessor shall have the right of execution upon the lessee and upon all his property. This lease is valid. The 15th

year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Athur 19. (Signed) I, Valerius son of Apollonius, have leased the land at a rent of 120 silver drachmae . . .'

8–9. *βασιλικῆς . . . ἐκ τοῦ Δάμωνος κλήρου*: i.e. the land was part of a confiscated *κλῆρος*; cf. **721.** 4–6.

10. *ξυλαμῆσαι χόρτῳ*: cf. **101.** 11, **280.** 12, 15, and **409.** 15 where *χόρτῳ* is to be read for *χόρτον*.

13. *σπονδῆς . . . παιδαρίοις*: for the payment on account of *σπονδή* in leases cf. **101.** 19 and **610**, and note on **525.** 7. In the present case it was for the benefit of the slaves employed in the cultivation of the land.

35. The paragraphus below this line marks the conclusion of the lease, and the signature was intended to begin below it.

36–7. [*φό*]*ρου* [*ἀπ*]*οτά*[*κ*|*του*] is perhaps to be read, but does not very well suit the remaining vestiges of letters.

731. Engagement of Services.

11·7 × 13·4. A.D. 8–9.

A contract for services to be rendered on certain specified occasions, among which are the festivals of Isis and Hera, at a salary of 40 drachmae a year, besides an *ὀψώνιον* of 13 drachmae 2 obols. The commencement of the contract is lost, and the nature of the services to be performed is uncertain; but it may be conjectured on the analogy of e.g. **475**, P. Grenf. II. 67, and P. Brit. Mus. 331 (cf. *Archiv*, I. p. 153), that the person engaged was an *artiste* of some kind, though to judge from the scale of remuneration, not of a very high class. The document was drawn up by a careless scribe, who makes a number of mistakes.

. . . . . .

σ̣υμ̣[20 letters]*η̣ καὶ ο*[. . . . . .
σιοις [*τ*]*ο̣ῦ̣ ἐνάτου καὶ τριακοσ*[*το*]*ῦ ἔτο*[*υ*]*ς Καί-*
σαρος μέχρι Θωὺθ τοῦ τρι[*α*]*κοστοῦ ἔτους*
Καίσαρος ἐφ' ᾧ̣ λιτουργήσω ὑμεῖν κατὰ μῆ-
5 *να ἐνάτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ Εἰσίοις ἡμέρας*
δύο καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις Ἥρας τρῖς, καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ̣ ἐάν
μου χρήαν ἔχητε παρ' ἡμέραν δώσε-
τέ μοι ἀργυ(*ρίου*) (*δραχμὴν*) *μίαν ὀβολοὺς δύο, μισθοῦ τοῦ*
ἑσταμέ[*ν*]*ου τὸ ἔτος ἀργυ*(*ρίου*) (*δραχμὰς*) *τεσσαράκον-*
10 *τα, ἐφ' ᾧ̣* [*δ*]*ώσετέ μοι κατ' ὀψώνιον ἀργυ*(*ρίου*)

δραχμ[ὰς δεκ]ατρῖς δύο ὀβολούς. ἧς ἡ-
μέρας η̣[. . . .]ε̣ ἀργ[ή]σω ἐ[κτ]ίσω ἀργυ(ρίου) δραχμὴν μί-
αν δύο ὀβ[ολού]ς. ἡ ὁμ{ομ}ολογία τῆς {α}πα-
ραμονῆς ἥδε κυρία ἔ[στω ὡς κατακεχωρισ-
15 μένη. (ἔτους) λη [Καίσαρος . . . . . .

3. l. τεσσαρακοστοῦ for τρι[α]κοστοῦ.

'. . of the 39th year of Caesar to Thoth of the 40th year of Caesar, on condition that I give you my services on the 9th and 10th of each month and for two days at the festival of Isis and three days at the time of the stars of Hera; and if you require me you shall pay me 1 drachma 2 obols of silver daily, or a fixed yearly salary of 40 drachmae of silver, and a present of 13 drachmae 2 obols of silver; and for every day that I am unemployed I will forfeit 1 drachma 2 obols of silver. This contract of engagement shall be valid as if publicly registered. The 38th year of Caesar . . .'

5–6. For the feast of Isis cf. P. Fay. Towns 118. 13. The star of Hera was another name for the planet Venus (cf. Arist. *de Mundo*, p. 392 a 27 ὁ τοῦ Φωσφόρου ὃν Ἀφροδίτης οἱ δὲ Ἥρας προσαγορεύουσιν, Pliny, *H. N.* 2. 8, &c.); but why the plural ἄστροις is here used is not clear. References to the cult of Hera in Egypt are rare; cf. **483.** 3, note.

8–9. The 29 days in the year specified in ll. 4–6 seem to be treated as 30, which at 1 dr. 2 obols a day make the 40 dr.

11–2. ἧς ἡμέρας δὲ ἐάν would be expected, but this was certainly not written. The ε after the lacuna is nearly sure and this may represent δ]ε; but the letter after ἡμέρας if not η must be υ and is certainly neither δ nor ε.

14. There is not room for ἐν δημοσίῳ.

(*e*) RECEIPTS.

732. Receipt for the Tax on Ferry-Boats.

18·2 × 23 *cm.* A.D. 150.

A receipt issued by two farmers of the ὠνὴ πορθμίδων at Oxyrhynchus and certain villages to two persons who apparently were ferrymen at one of these villages, acknowledging the payment first of 200 and subsequently of 100 drachmae for φόρος πόρθμειος, the total, 300 drachmae, being probably the whole sum due from them for a year. This impost, the title of which is new, seems

to be a tax upon the profits of privately owned ferry-boats rather than a revenue derived from a State monopoly, though the latter interpretation is also possible.

Ἡλιόδωρος Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ Λεοντ[ᾶς Π]εκύρ[ιος] ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ[ω]ν πόλε[ως τελῶναι ὠνῆς προθμίδων πόλεως καὶ Ἰσίου Ἀ . [. . κ]αὶ ἄλλων τ[ὸ] ἐνεστὸς ιγ (ἔτος)

Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀχιλλᾶτι Θοώνιος [κα]ὶ Ἀπῖτ[ι] Ἀπῖτ[ο]ς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ(τῆς)

πόλεως χαίρειν. ἔσχομεν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀφ' ὧν [ὀ]φίλετε ἡμῖν ὑπ[ὲ]ρ φόρου προ-
5 *θμείου Πανκύλεως ἐπὶ λόγου δραχμὰς διακ[οσί]ας, γίν(ονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ. (ἔτους) ιγ*

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Τῦβι κζ. (2nd hand) *Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ προγεγραμμένες ἔσ-χον σὺν τῷ Λεωντᾶτι τὰς προ{γε}κιμένας δραχμὰς διακωσίας, γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ.* (3rd hand) *Λεοντᾶς Πεκύριος*
10 *ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἔσχον σὺν τῷ Ἡλιοδώρῳ [τ]ὰ[ς π]ροκιμένας δραχμὰς δι[α]κοσίας. χρόνος ὁ αὐτός.* (2nd hand) *Ἡλιόδωρος ἔσχον σ[ὺ]ν τῷ Λεον[τᾶ]τι τὰς λυπὰ⟨ς⟩ δραχμὰς ἑκα[τό]ν.* (3rd hand) *Λεοντᾶς ἔσ[χον σὺν τῷ Ἡλιοδώ⟨ρῳ⟩ ὡς πρ[όκι]ται.*

2. l. *πορθμίδων.* *ἴσιου* Pap. 4. l. *πορθμείου.* 7. l. *προγεγραμμένος.* 8. *κ* of *κιμενας* corr. from *γ*. 9. l. *διακοσίας.* 13. l. *λοιπά⟨ς⟩.*

'Heliodorus son of Heliodorus and Leontas son of Pekuris, of Oxyrhynchus, farmers of the contract for the tax on ferry-boats at the city, Ision A . . ., and other (villages) for the present 13th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, to Achillas son of Thoönis and Apeis son of Apeis, of the said city, greeting. We have received from you on account out of the sum which you owe us for the revenue from ferry-boats at Pankulis two hundred drachmae, total 200 dr.' Date and signatures of Heliodorus and Leontas, followed by their further acknowledgements of the remaining hundred drachmae.

733. Tax-Receipt.

12 × 9·7 *cm.* A.D. 147.

A receipt for the tax on pigs (cf. 288, introd.) and poll-tax paid by an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus and his son. The payments are no doubt instalments of the whole amount due for a year.

I (*ἔτους*) *Ἀντωνεί[νου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*
Παχὼν δ. [*δ*]*ιέγρα*(*ψε*) *Διογ*(*ένει*) *πρά*(*κτορι*) *ἀργυ*(*ρικῶν*)
M . [. . . .] *πλατ*(*είας*) *Ἀμόις ὁ κ*(*αὶ*) *Παπο*(*ντῶς*) *Διοδώ*(*ρου*)
ὑικ(*ῆς*) [*τοῦ*] *αὐ*(*τοῦ*) *ι* (*ἔτους*) (*δραχμὴν*) *μίαν* (*πεντώβολον*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*), /
(*δραχμὴ*) *α* (*πεντώβολον*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*).
5 *T* . *ρ*[. .] . *ο*[. .]*ς υἱὸ*(*ς*) *μη*(*τρὸς*) *Ταπο*(*ντῶτος*) *λαογρα*(*φίας*)
τοῦ αὐ(*τοῦ*) *ι* (*ἔτους*) (*δραχμὰς*) *τ*[*έσ*]*σαρας, ὑικ*(*ῆς*) *α* (*πεντώβολον*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*).

2. *π* of *παχων* corr. from *δ*. The following *δ* is corrected.

'The 10th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pachon 4. Amois also called Papontos, son of Diodorus, has paid to Diogenes, collector of money taxes of M . . . street, for the pig-tax of the said 10th year 1 drachma $5\frac{1}{2}$ obols, total 1 dr. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ob. T . . . , his son, his mother being Tapontos, has paid for the poll-tax of the said 10th year 4 drachmae, for the pig-tax 1 drachma $5\frac{1}{2}$ obols.'

734. Tax-Receipt.

10·4 × 9·7 *cm.* A.D. 165.

A receipt for the payment of 1 drachma 4 obols by Cleon to an agent of the tax-collectors of a subdivision of the middle toparchy. The names of the taxes, which are abbreviated *γλ*⁻ and *σ*⁻, are uncertain, being probably both new.

E (*ἔτους*) *Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν*
κυρίων Σεβαστῶν Φαμε(*νὼθ*) *κζ. διέγρα*(*ψε*) *Κλάρῳ*
χι(*ριστῇ*) *πρα*(*κτόρων*) *ἀργυ*(*ρικῶν*) *μέ*(*σης*) *τοπ*(*αρχίας*) *Πέτνη Τακολ*( )
τόπ(*ων*) *δι*(*ὰ*)
Ἀμμω(*νίου*) *βοη*(*θοῦ*) *γλυ*( ) *καὶ συ*( ) *ε* (*ἔτους*) *Κλέων*
5 [. . .]*του Τακολ*( ) *δραχ*(*μὴν*) *μία*⟨*ν*⟩ *τετρώβολ*(*ον*),
/ (*δραχμὴ*) *α* (*τετρώβολον*).

3. The *Πέτνη τόποι* are known from **595**, but the addition of *Τακολ*( ), which recurs in l. 5, is new.

(*f*) ACCOUNTS.

735. Graeco-Latin Military Account.

12·5 × 16·4 *cm.* A.D. 205. Plate V.

This is a fragment of a Graeco-Latin register or account, concerning a detachment of troops (cf. 43 recto). Lines 5–11 contain a copy of a receipt in Greek from an *optio*, or adjutant, to an imperial deputy-procurator for 50 artabae of wheat paid to a number of cavalrymen, whose names in Latin precede. A list of six footsoldiers follows, which was presumably succeeded by another receipt in Greek recording a payment to them. There are a few Latin letters (apparently belonging to names) from the ends of lines of the previous column, and what remains of Col. iii is occupied with more names in Latin. One or two of these soldiers' names indicate Hebrew extraction.

The receipt is dated in the 14th year of a joint reign, which on palaeographical grounds is probably that of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

Col. ii.

. . . . . .

Ḡ[.]*l*[
Ṣạdus [
Marrius *Coṃạṛ*[
Valerius *Isidori*
Μαλωχῶς Μ̣[. .]*ν̣α̣ν̣*[*ο*]*υ ὀπτίων Οὐίκτω-*
ρι Κωμαρίνω Καισάρων οἰκονόμου
οὐικαρίου χαίρειν. ἐμετρήθησαν
οἱ προκίμενοι ἱππεῖς πραίτων ἀριθμῶν
ὑπὲρ μηνὸς Θὼθ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεν-
τήκοντα. (*ἔτους*) *ιδ τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν*
Θὼθ ζ.
item pedites vi *Belei*
Beleus *Zabdius*
ad cognlega *Claudius* *Sabinus*
Ierraeus *Macchana*
Gradius *Avidus*
Themes *Malichi*

Col. iii.

. . . .
Ị̣ẹ̣ḅạel [
ṛịex *Barichius* [
Sadus [
Themes [
Salmes [
Zebidịus [
Malichus *Sạ*[
Psenosirius [
Roman(*us* ?) *Ạ*[
Ç̣umeṣịụ[*s*] *et* *Trufon* *H*[
Iulius .[
Eṭiop̣ịus *Chu* . [
Pacebius *P*[

6–7. l. Κωμαρίνου . . . οἰκονόμῳ οὐικαρίῳ. 7. First ε of εμετρηθησαν corr. from ο (?). 8. l. πρώτων.

3–4. The pairs of names here and in ll. 13–7 are placed rather far apart and look at first sight as if they were independent; but with one exception either the second name has a genitive termination or the first may be a gentile name, while unless the names are connected the number *vi* in l. 10 is wrong. The only case in which any difficulty arises is in l. 13, where *Beleus* and *Zabdius* certainly seem to be separate names; but the distance between them is greater than in any of the other cases. Possibly *Gradius* and *Avidus* in l. 16, where again the space is very wide, should also be separated, thus making the number 6. In l. 3 the second name is perhaps *Comar[ini*; cf. l. 6.

5. Μαλωχῶς: hardly Μαλωχᾶς, though that name occurs in a Palmyra inscription, C. I. G. 4497.

6. Καισάρων οἰκονόμου οὐικαρίου: cf. B. G. U. 156. 3 and 102. 1, where οἰκονόμος is probably to be read between Καίσαρος and οὐικάριος.

14. The marginal additions here and in l. 19 are obscure; *cognlega* is perhaps *collega*, but what is *riex*? The first letter may be *a* but the second does not at all resemble *p*, nor would *apex* be a very likely word here.

736. Private Account.

17·3 × 54·3 *cm.* About A.D. 1.

Of this lengthy account of private expenses parts of seven columns in all remain, five on the recto and two on the verso; the first column of the recto, however, which is separated from those following by a broad blank space, is too fragmentary to be worth reproducing, and the same may be said of a narrow half-effaced column corresponding to this one but written in the reverse direction on the back. The remainder is in fairly good condition, but the papyrus is broken at the top and bottom, and the short column on the verso is sometimes difficult to decipher owing to discolouration. The various payments are arranged according to the days of the month, and some interesting items and prices occur.

Col. ii.

. . . . . .

κα. φα[ ]
εἰς [15 letters] . . (δραχμαὶ) δ,
βα . [. . .] . . [. .]αφ[. . .] διὰ
Ζμ[.] . . ς φαινόλ[ο]υ Κοράξου (δραχμαὶ) ι,
5 γο[γ]γυλίδος εἰς ταριχείαν (δραχμὴ) α (ὀβολοὶ δύο),

χαλκίου μισθοῦ εἰς βάψαι (ὀβολοὶ δύο ?)
ἁλός (ὀβολός ?),
ἄλεστρα (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α ἐπὶ τῆς ιη (τριώβολον ?),
θρύων εἰς τοὺς ἄρτους (ὀβολοὶ δύο),
ἤπητρα εἰς φαινόλ(ην) Κοράξου (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
εἰς κατανθρωπισμὸν γυναικ(ὸς)
Γεμέλλου (τετρώβολον ?),
μύρου εἰς ἀποστολὴν ταφῆς
θυγατρὸς Φνᾶς (τετρώβολον).
κβ. ἐλαίου χο(ὸς) α (δραχμαὶ) δ (τετρώβολον),
κηροῦ καὶ γραφείου παιδ(ῶν) (ὀβολός),
ἄρτου καθαροῦ Πρίμα[ς] (ἡμιωβέλιον),
εἰς κ[α]τανθρωπισμὸν Τύχης (τριώβολον).
Μ̣εχ(εὶρ) θ. [20 letters] (δραχμὴ) α (τριώβολον)

. . . . . .

3. φ of]αφ[rewritten (?).

Col. iii.

. . . . . .

Ends of 3 lines.

ι. ολ̣[. . .]κ̣ο̣ . [.] ἀρίσ[τῳ γ]ερδί(ου) (ὀβολός),
κ̣ρ̣[. .] . ν . . . (ἡμιωβέλιον),
εἰς τὸ Σαραπιῖ̣ον (ὀβολοὶ δύο),
ἄρτου καθαροῦ παιδ(ῶν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
ζύτου γ[ε]ρδί(ου) (ὀβολοὶ δύο),
πράσων ἀρίστῳ γερδί(ου) (ὀβολός),
περιστερᾶς (ὀβολός),
Ἀντᾶτι (δραχμαὶ) β (ὀβολοὶ δύο),
ἄνω ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ἄλεστρα ἄρτων
(πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) β διὰ [Ἰ]σᾶτος (δραχμὴ) α (ὀβολοὶ δύο).
ια. ἐν παρεμβο[λ]ῇ διὰ Θεοδώρου
ἄλεσ[τρα] ἄρ̣[τ]ω̣(ν) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α (τετρώβολον),
ἀρίστῳ [γε]ρ[δί(ου)] (ὀβολός),

ἀσπαράγῳ(ν) [δί]πνῳ Ἀντ(ᾶτος) ὅτ' εἰς
τὸ περί̣δ[ι]πνο(ν) Ἀθη( ) γναφέω(ς) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
καὶ παιδαρί[οι]ς δίπνῳ κράμβη(ς) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
π . . [.] . . παιδίῳ (ἡμιωβέλιον)

Parts of 2 lines.

. . . . . .

25. Second ι of σαραπιιον corr. from ο (?). 36. First α of ασπαραγω(ν) corr. from δ.

Col. iv.

. . . . . .

Parts of 4 lines.

46 ιϛ. προ̣[σφαγ]ί̣ου (ἡμιωβέλιον),
θρ̣ύ[ων ε]ἰ̣[ς] ἄρτ̣ους (ὀβολοὶ δύο) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
ιζ. γάλακτος παιδ(ῶν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
ἄρτου καθαροῦ (ἡμιωβέλιον).
50 ιη. Σεκούντα παιδ(ῶν) ἰτρίου (ἡμιωβέλιον).
ιθ. τισάνης ὁμ(οίως) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
κ. ὀψαρίου (ὀβολός),
ἄρτου καθαροῦ (ἡμιωβέλιον),
εἰς κατανθρωπ(ισμὸν) Ἀ̣ν̣τ̣ω(νίας ?) (ὀβολοὶ δύο),
55 καὶ εἰς Τ̣α̣πτολλοῦ̣τ̣ος Κ̣α̣ι̣κ̣ι̣λ(ίου ?) (τριώβολον),
γενεσίοις Τρυφᾶτος στεφά(νων) (ὀβολοὶ δύο),
γε⟨νε⟩σίοις [.] . [.] . . ω( ) στεφά(νων) (ὀβολοὶ δύο).
κα. ῥόας παιδ(ῶν) [ ] (ὀβολός),
παιγνίω(ν) κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ε̣π̣ο̣υ̣ριω(ν) παιδ(ῶν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
60 ζύτου (τριώβολον),
ὄψου (ὀβολός).
κβ. ὀψαρί[ο]υ (ὀβολός).

Part of 1 line.

. . . . . .

50. l. Σεκούντῳ (cf. l. 81). 54. αντ of αντω( ) rewritten.

Col. v.

. . . . . .

Parts of 4 lines.

Θαῆσις [. . . *ἡ*]*με*(*ρῶν*) *β* [(*πεντώβολον*),
μήτηρ [*Ἀμ*]*μωνᾶτο*(*ς*) *ἡμ*(*ρῶν*) [
70 *Ταα*ρ*παῆσις ἡμ*(*ρῶν*) [*β*] *πεντώβολον*,
Βεροῦς ὁμ(*οίως*) *ἡμε*(*ρῶν*) *ι* (*δραχμαὶ*) *δ* (*ὀβολός*).
κδ. ἄλεστρα (*πυροῦ*) (*ἀρτάβης*) *α* (*τετρώβολον*),
ἀλμυρίδος μα( ) *β* (*ὀβολοὶ δύο*),
ἀλὸς (*ὀβολός*),
75 *λίνου καὶ ῥαφίδος* (*ὀβολός*),
ἄλεστρα (*πυροῦ*) (*ἀρτάβης*) *α διὰ Θεοδώ*(*ρου*) (*τετρώβολον*),
κέρκισ[*τ*]*ρα φα*[*ι*]*νόλ*(*ου*) (*δραχμὴ*) *α* (*ὀβολοὶ δύο*),
ἄρτω(*ν*) *καθαρῶ*(*ν*) *Φα*[. . .]*τω*( ) (*δραχμὴ*) *α*,
περιστερᾶς [*πα*]*ιδ*(*ῶν*) (*ὀβολός*),
80 *ἄρτου κ*[*αθαροῦ ὁ*]*μ*(*οίως*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*),
Σεκούντῳ παιδ(*ῶν*) *ἰτρ*[*ίου*] (*ἡμιωβέλιον*)
καὶ σεμιδάρεως ξηρᾶς (*ἡμιωβέλιον*),
γάλακτος (*ἡμιωβέλιον*),
μύρου ε[*ἰ*]*ς ταφῆς θυγατρὸς*
85 [*Π*]*ᾶσιτ*[*ο*]*ς* (*δραχμὴ*) *α*.

. . . . . .

82. l. *σεμιδάλεως*.

On the verso opposite Col. v.

Parts of 2 lines.

ι. αμ[. .]*γ*( ) *γυ*[*ν*]*αιξὶ συνα*[. . . .] (*δραχμαὶ*) *β* (*τριώβολον*),
πρ[*ο*]*σφαγί*(*ων*) *ταῖς γυναιξὶ*
90 *ἡμε*(*ρῶν*) *β* (*ὀβολοὶ δύο*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*),
κόλλητρα λυχνίας (*ὀβολοὶ δύο*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*),
ἐρεβίνθων [*ὅ*]*τε ὧδε*
ἐδείπνει . [. . . .] . *ι*[*ο*]*ς* (*ὀβολὸς*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*),

εἰς κατανθρωπισμὸν

95 Λα[ο]δίκης (ὀβολοὶ δύο ?),

[[.]] εἰς τὰ αρτ . [. . .] . . . . (ὀβολοὶ δύο),

Στράτου εἰς τὴ[ν .]ε . ᾳπ̣ . ς εἰσβολ(ὴν) (δραχμαὶ ?) δ,

[. . . .] δαπανη( ) . . . τα . . . . . ς [

Ἡρ̣[ω]νι εἰς τ̣ . . . ρ̣ . . . κιθῶ(να ?) (δραχμ ?) [. .],

100 κόλλητρα χαλκ[ίο]υ̣ (ἡμιωβέλιον).

'll. 1–95. The 21st: . . . through Zm . . . for the cloak of Coraxus, 10 drachmae; turnips for pickling 1 dr. 2 obols; for the kettle, payment for enamelling 2 ob.; salt 1 ob.; cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat on the 18th 3 ob.; omelette for the bread 2 ob.; cost of mending the cloak of Coraxus $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; for treating (?) the wife of Gemellus 4 ob.; perfume for the dispatch of the mummy of the daughter of Phna 4 ob. The 22nd: a chous of oil 4 dr. 4 ob.; wax and stilus for the children 1 ob.; pure bread for Prima $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; for treating Tyche 3 ob. 9th Mecheir . . . the 10th: . . . for the weaver's breakfast 1 ob.; . . . for the Sarapeum 2 ob.; pure bread for the children $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; beer for the weaver 1 ob.; leeks for the weaver's breakfast 1 ob.; a pigeon 1 ob.; to Antas 2 dr. 2 ob.; up at the city for the bread, cost of grinding 2 artabae of wheat, through Isas, 1 dr. 2 ob. The 11th: at the camp, through Theodorus, for the bread, cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat 4 ob.; for the weaver's breakfast 1 ob.; asparagus for the dinner of Antas when (he went) to the funeral feast of Athe . . . the fuller $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; and to the slaves (?), for a cabbage for dinner $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; to the child $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; . . . The 16th: a relish $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; omelettes for the bread $2\frac{1}{2}$ ob. The 17th: milk for the children $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; pure bread $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. The 18th: to Secundas, a cake for the children $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. The 19th: barley water for the same $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. The 20th: sauce 1 ob.; pure bread $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; for treating Antonia 2 ob.; and for Taptollous daughter of Caecilius 3 ob.; on the birthday of Tryphas, for garlands 2 ob.; on the birthday of . . . for garlands 2 ob. The 21st: pomegranates for the children 1 ob.; playthings and . . . for the children 1 ob.; beer 3 ob.; sauce 1 ob. The 22nd: sauce 1 ob.; Thaësis . . . for 2 days 5 ob.; the mother of Ammonas for . days . . .; Taarpaësis for 2 days 5 ob.; Berous similarly for 10 days 4 dr. 1 ob. The 24th: cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat 4 ob.; 2 . . . of pickle 2 ob.; salt 1 ob.; a needle and thread 1 ob.; cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat, through Theodorus, 4 ob.; cost of weaving a cloak 1 dr. 2 ob.; pure bread for Ph . . . 1 dr.; a pigeon for the children 1 ob.; pure bread for the same $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; to Secundus for a cake for the children $\frac{1}{2}$ ob., and for dry meal $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; milk $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; perfume for the mummy of the daughter of Pasis 1 dr. . . . The 10th: . . . for the women 2 dr. 3 ob.; relishes for the women on 2 days $2\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; cost of tinkering a lamp $2\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; pulse when . . . was dining here $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; for treating Laodice $2\frac{1}{2}$ ob.'

7. ἅλεστρα: cf. l. 10 ἤπητρα, l. 77 κέρκισ[τ]ρα, l. 91 κόλλητρα, **739**. 4 σιτοπόητρα. ἤπητρα had already occurred in P. Tebt. 120 introd., where it should be regarded as a neuter plural, as should also ὕφαντρα in P. Tebt. 117. 37, &c.

11. εἰς κατανθρωπισμόν: cf. ll. 17, 53, and 92, where the expression recurs, the object being apparently always a woman. Neither κατανθρωπισμός nor κατανθρωπίζειν appears to be otherwise attested.

28. The ω of ἀρίστῳ here and elsewhere is written above the line (so too δίπνῳ in

l. 38), but probably the dative singular and not the genitive plural was intended; a final letter is similarly overwritten e. g. in l. 10 Κοράξου, l. 56 Τρυφᾶτος.

36. ὅτ' εἰς: sc. ἦλθε.

55. Ταπτολλοῦτος: sc. κατανθρωπισμόν. This is preferable to reading τὰ Πτολλοῦτος.

59. επουριω(ν): the word is unknown and the reading quite doubtful. επ may be σπ or εισ.

84. ε[ἰ]ς ταφῆς: sc. ἀποστολήν; cf. l. 13.

96. The marks at the beginning of the line look more like a deleted letter than an abbreviation. The day of the month should have been further away to the left.

99. Possibly εἰς τ[ὸ]ν . . ., but there is hardly space for [ο].

737. Latin Account.

Height 22·3 *cm.* About A.D. 1. Plate VIII. Col. i.

An account of wages paid on different days to 'weavers,' 'hired persons,' and a 'master' or 'foreman.' The wages, which are reckoned in asses, are at the rate of 3½ for a weaver, 4 for a 'hired man,' and 6 for the foreman. We give the text of two columns, which are contained on separate pieces of papyrus but seem to be consecutive; there is a large blank space after Col. ii, which was the end of the roll. A few small fragments of some other columns also remain. The account is written in a clear cursive hand which is probably of the reign of Augustus, the papyrus being one of a large find belonging practically entirely to that period. Points are commonly used after abbreviations (but not with *a* for *asses*) and the numerals of the days of the month, and are not infrequently added after words which are not abbreviated.

Col. i.

[*a*(*nte*)	*d*(*iem*) . *Nonas*	*Iu*]*lias*		
	[*condu*]*ctei*	*iv*	*a*(*sses*)	*xvi*
]*ii*	*textor*(*es*)	*ii*	[*a*(*sses*)]	*vii*
	conductei	*ii*	[*a*(*sses*)]	*viii*
i]*ix*	*Idus textor*(*es*)	*ii*	*a*(*sses*)	*vii*
	conductei	*ii*	*a*(*sses*)	*viii*
vii	*Idus textor*(*es*)	*ii*	*a*(*sses*)	*vii*
	conductei	*ii*	*a*(*sses*)	*viii*
vi]	*Idus textor*(*es*)	*ii*	*a*(*sses*)	*vii*
	co[*n*]*ductei*	*ii*	*a*(*sses*)	*viii*

v Idus textor(es) iii *a(sses)* *x s(emis)*
magister *a(sses)* *vi*
iv Idus textor(es) iii *a(sses)* *x s(emis)*
magister *a(sses)* *vi*
15 *iii I[dus] textor(es) iii* *a(sses)* *x s(emis)*
[m]agister *a(sses)* *vi*

Col. ii.

]ii Idus textor(es) iii *a(sses)* *x s(emis)*
magister *a(sses)* *vi*
]i Idus textor(es) iii *a(sses)* *x s(emis)*
20 *magister* *a(sses)* *vi*
a(nte) d(iem) xiix K(alendas) Sextilias
textor(es) iii *a(sses)* *x s(emis)*
magister *a(sses)* *vi*

21. *a* of *sextilias* corr. from *l*(?).

2. *a(sses)*: this abbreviation is common in the Pompeian inscriptions; cf. C. I. L. IV, index. The occurrence of asses in an account of this kind is however very singular. Presumably the money though reckoned in asses was paid in obols, three of which would be the equivalent of 2 asses.

5. *i]ix*: cf. l. 21, where *xiix* is written for *xviii*; for the sums of asses, on the other hand, *viii* is regularly used.

17–9. If this column immediately follows Col. i, which from the dates seems most probable, there is nothing lost at the beginnings of these lines and *i* in l. 19 stands for *pridie*.

21. *Sextilias* is a curious form; the *a* has been corrected, but was apparently altered from another letter, not itself deleted. For the numeral *xiix* cf. note on l. 5.

738. Account of Food.

13·5 × 10·3 *cm.* About A.D. 1.

A fragment of an account of articles of food consumed on different days; cf. 108. The ends of lines of a preceding column are preserved.

. . . .

δίπνωι ε· δίπνωι ζ·

Κανωπικὸν
ἧπαρ.
δίπνῳ ϛ·
5 *ὄστρεα ι,*
θρίδαξ α.
ἀρτίδια β,
ὄρνις σιδυτὴ ἐξ ὕδα(τος) α,
10 *πτέρυγες β.*
. . . . . .

'For dinner on the 5th a Canopic liver; for dinner on the 6th 10 oysters, 1 lettuce; for dinner on the 7th 2 small loaves, 1 bird . . . from the water, 2 snipe (?).'

9. σιδυτή is a new word. The πτέρυγες were probably smaller than the ὄρνις.

739. Private Account.

32 × 10 *cm.* About A.D. 1.

A private account for a month, reckoned in silver drachmae and copper obols. Lines 1–2 mention a receipt, ll. 3–22 give an account of expenditure for various purposes. The account is written on the verso, the recto being blank.

Ἔχει Ἰσᾶς παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίο[υ
ἀπὸ Κύνου (δραχμὰς) μ . [
∠ *δα(πάνης)· τι(μῆς) χι( ) [Ν]εχθεῦτι (δραχμαὶ) κη,*
σειτοποήτρων (δραχμὴ) α (τετρώβολον),
5 *[[ἐλαίου (δραχμαὶ) δ (ὀβολοὶ δύο).]]*
δ. *ἄλεστρα (πεντώβολον),*
κονίου εἰς πρ[ο]σφαγίου (ὀβολός).
ε. *κοφίνων γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).*
ϛ. *βατανίων (ὀβολοὶ δύο),*
10 *προσφαγίου οἰκοδ(όμου) (ὀβολός),*
ἐλαίου χοῦς (δραχμαὶ) δ (ὀβολοὶ δύο). / *μ (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).*
ζ. *προσφαγίου οἰκοδ(όμου) (ὀβολός).*
θ. *ἐργάτου (τετρώβολον ?),*
οἰκοδ(όμου) πρ(οσφαγίου) (ὀβολός),
15 *τέκτον[ος .]*
ιγ. *τι(μῆς) ἐλα[ίου] (δραχμαὶ)] δ (τριώβολον ?),*

πορφύρας (δραχμαὶ) κ,
στήμον[ος εἰς γυναι]κ[εῖ]ον
ἱμάτε̣ι̣[ον .]
20 Φιλουταρίῳ [. .] . [.] . . [. .] . β . [
κβ. τι(μῆς) ἐλαίου [(δραχμαὶ) δ] (ὀβολοὶ δύο).
/ [. .] .

5. This line enclosed in round brackets. 7. l. πρ[ο]σφάγιον.

'Isas has received from Apollonius, an inhabitant of Cynus, 4[.] drachmae. Deduct on account of expenses: price of . . . paid to Nechtheus 28 dr., for making bread 1 dr. 4 ob., (for oil 4 dr. 2 ob., erased). On the 4th, for grinding 5 ob., powder (?) for a relish 1 ob. 5th, 3 baskets $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob. 6th, plates 2 ob., a relish for the builder 1 ob., a chous of oil 4 dr. 2 ob. Total 40 dr. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ob. 7th, a relish for the builder 1 ob. 9th, for the workman 4 ob., a relish for the builder 1 ob., the carpenter . . . 13th, price of oil 4 dr. 3 ob., purple 20 dr., thread for a woman's robe . . ., to Philoutarion . . . 22nd, price of oil 4 dr. 2 ob. Total . . .'

2. Κύνου, if correct, is the name of a village, but the writer is careless about his cases (cf. l. 7), and he may mean Κυνῶν, i. e. Cynopolis.

4. σειτοποήτρων: cf. the similar forms ἄλεστρα (l. 6), ἤπητρα, &c. (**736**. 10 and note on **736**. 7).

5. The amount of oil which is not stated here and in l. 21 was no doubt 1 χοῦς: cf. l. 11.

740. Account of Corn.

21·2 × 46 *cm.* About A.D. 200.

An account of corn, arranged according to different villages, apparently from the day-book of a private individual rather than an official. Of Col. i only the ends of lines are preserved, but Col. ii is practically complete, and Col. iii has lost only a few letters at the ends of lines. There is also a detached fragment (not printed) belonging to another column.

Cols. i and ii are apparently concerned with corn paid out, and the sum given in ll. 28–9, added to the 30 artabae accounted for in ll. 30–1, is subtracted from a previously mentioned total, leaving the remainder stated in l. 32. The rest of Col. iii deals with receipts from rents. The papyrus provides some interesting new information about the names and character of different measures of corn, and a curious conversion occurs in l. 29. On the verso are copies of

petitions to Septimius Severus and Caracalla (705), and the 9th year mentioned in l. 36 of the recto no doubt refers to these emperors.

Col. i.

Ends of 13 lines.

14 [Μερμέρθων· γ]νησίων δη-
15 [μοσίων]ος διδομε-
16 [ν διὰ γε]ωργ(οῦ) Μερμ(έρθων)

Col. ii.

17 μιᾶς ἀντὶ μιᾶς μέτρῳ σιτολ(ογικῷ?) Ἥρων[. . .] . υ (ἀρτάβαι) [. .
18 Σερύφεως· μέτ(ρῳ) δ(ημοσίῳ) μιᾶ[ς] ἀντὶ μιᾶς ἐμβ( ) (ἀρτάβαι) κβ χ(οίνικες) ζ,
19 καὶ ἐδόθησαν ὑπὲρ φορέτρου ὀνηλ(ατῶν) (ἀρτάβαι) . χ(οίνικες) γ.
20 Πέλα· ἰδιωτικῶς μέτ(ρῳ) δη(μοσίῳ) διὰ Πασαλύμιο[ς
21 γεωργ(οῦ) Πέλα θέμ(ατος) ἀπὸ (ἀρταβῶν) κς τὸ γ′ (ἀρτάβαι) η (ἥμισυ) χ(οίνικες) ζ,
22 καὶ ἐδόθ(η) ὑπὲρ φορέτ(ρου) ὀνηλ(ατῶν) καὶ σιτολο[γικο]ῦ καὶ
23 σιτομετρικοῦ τῶν προκ(ειμένων) (ἀρταβῶν) η (ἡμίσους) χ(οινίκων) ζ (ἀρτάβης) (ἥμισυ τέταρτον) χ(οίνικες) β.
24 Παώμεως· ἐμετρήθ(ησαν) σιτολ(όγοις) [. . . . . .] . (ἀρτάβαι) ιε,
25 καὶ ἐδόθ(ησαν) ὑπ(ὲρ) φορέτ(ρου) ὀνηλ(ατῶν) καὶ σιτομ[ετ(ρικοῦ) τῶν προκ(ειμένων) (ἀρταβῶν) ιε (ἀρταβ) . χ(οίνικες)] γ.
26 Σενεκελεύ· ἐμετρήθ(ησαν) σιτολ(όγοις) θέμα[τος . . . . . (ἀρτάβαι)] . ,
27 καὶ ἐδόθ(ησαν) ὑπ(ὲρ) σιτολογ(ικοῦ) καὶ φορέτ(ρου) χ(οίνικες) [.]
28 / ἀναλώμ(ατος) ἰδιωτ(ικῶς) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) νβ δ′ χ(οίνικες) β,
29 αἱ θέματος δημοσίου καθαροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) μθ (ἥμισυ τέταρτον) χ(οίνικες) θ.
30 καὶ ἐπράθησαν ὡς ἐπάνω [διὰ τοῦ] γ λογοῦ δεδήλωται
31 ἐπὶ μηνὸς Μεσορὴ [[(ἀρτάβαι) λ]] (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λ.

Col. iii.

32 λοιπαὶ [ἰ]διωτικῶς πυρ[οῦ ἀρτάβαι . .
33 καὶ ἐν θέματι ὁμοίως διδομένου ὑπὸ γ[εωργ(ῶν) . . . . .
34 κατὰ μίσθωσιν [(ἀρτάβαι) . .

35 Θώλθεως· ἐμετ(ρήθησαν) διὰ Ἡρᾶτος γεωργ(οῦ) Θεω[. . . (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) . .
36 ὁ αὐ(τὸς) ἀπὸ σπερμ(άτων) θ (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) γ, / [(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) .
37 Πέλα· ἐν πεδίοις Σενοκωμ[.] . . παρὰ [. . . . . .
38 Διογένους τοῦ Σαραπ(ίωνος) γεω[ργ(οῦντος)] . . . ( ) περὶ Πέλα [. . . . . .
39 σας Σενοκωμ( ) . . ἀπὸ (ἀρταβῶν) λ τὸ [. . . . . .
40 Κεσμούχεως· παρὰ Παθώτου Μοιμεσ[.]χ( ) γε[ωργ(οῦντος) . . . . .
41 (ἀρούρας) η (ἥμισυ τέταρτον) ἀπὸ (ἀρταβῶν) κη τὸ γ′ [(ἀρτάβαι) θ . . .
42 παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρ[α]κλ[εί]ας . . [. . . . . ἢ ἡ-
43 σπόρησεν ἐπὶ Μαγδώλ(ων) κοι(νὴ) πρὸς Ἡρακλεί(δην) κατ[ὰ τὸ (ἥμισυ) γ′
44 καὶ πρὸς τὴν μήτ(ερα) τῶν ἀφηλ(ίκων) κ[α]τὰ τὸ ἡ′ κα[ὶ πρὸς τοὺς
45 ἀφήλ(ικας) κατὰ τὸ κδ′, ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἄρουραι) κδ . [. .] . λ[. . . . . .
46 ἐγ μέρ[ο]υ(ς) (ἀρουρῶν) ις, χέρσου καὶ χω(μάτων ?) καὶ ἀλμ(υρίδος) [. . . . . .
47 τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) [μ]έρο(υς) τῶν ἀφηλ(ίκων) (ἄρουρα) α (ἥμισυ) . [. .] . επη( ) γ′ α [. . . . . .
48 [. .] . . [.] . ( ) ε[.]ι . οι( ) ὅλων γ′ ε[. . . . .] . . ( ) (ἀρτάβαι) ι . [. . . . . .
49 / θέμα[το]ς (ἀρτάβαι) [.]γ (ἥμισυ).

14. Μερμέρθων (cf. 823) is restored from l. 16; cf. the position of Πέλα in ll. 20–1. The genitive Μερμέρθων occurs in a papyrus found last winter.

γ]νησίων δη[μοσίων: cf. P. Amh. 86. 10 and note. ἀρταβιεία and ναύβιον are meant, though perhaps not exclusively.

17. μιᾶς ἀντὶ μιᾶς: cf. l. 18, and P. Amh. 87. 21–2, note. The meaning here is that half the artabae were paid on one measure (the name of which is lost in ll. 14–6), half on the measure σιτολ( ), which is new and which we have supposed to be σιτολ(ογικῷ) on the analogy of μέτρῳ ἀγορανομικῷ in 836.

18. ἐμβ( ): this measure is also new. Perhaps ἐμβ(ολικῷ), i. e. the measure generally used in corn sent by boat to Alexandria. It was no doubt smaller than the δημόσιον μέτρον; cf. l. 21, note.

20. ἰδιωτικῶς: the point of this remark (cf. ll. 28 and 32) is not quite clear. We might suppose that the writer was contrasting the present private payment with other official ones in the same account, but from l. 28 it appears that all the items in Col. ii concern his private account, and to assume that he failed to keep official and private accounts distinct is not satisfactory. An alternative explanation is to suppose that ἰδιωτικῶς refers not to the nature of the account but to the character of the corn; cf. ll. 28–9, where an amount of corn which is apparently ἰδιωτικῶς is converted into a slightly smaller sum θέματος δημοσίου καθαροῦ, and note *ad loc.* But since the payment in l. 19, although ἰδιωτικῶς, is μέτ(ρῳ) δη(μοσίῳ), ἰδιωτικῶς cannot refer to a private measure, and would be a curious expression to imply that the corn in question was not καθαρός.

21. $\frac{1}{3}$ of 26 artabae is $8\frac{2}{3}$ art., a sum which the writer expresses by $8\frac{1}{2}$ art. 7 choenices.

This implies, if his arithmetic is correct, the artaba of 42 choenices, the largest of the different artabae in use in Egypt, and in the fourth century called the artaba φορικῷ (μέτρῳ) (P. Brit. Mus. 125; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 232–3). The fact that it is the artaba of 42 choenices which is here μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ is important, for the official artaba in Roman times has been often supposed to be much smaller, though, as we pointed out (P. Tebt. *ibid.*), on insufficient grounds. But it would not be safe to infer from the present passage alone that the mention of μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ in Roman times always implied an artaba of 42 choenices.

22–3. These charges for donkey transport, with the σιτολογικόν (a new term, probably meaning a *bakhshish* for the σιτολόγος) and σιτομετρικόν (also new as an impost for measuring the corn), all of which are supplementary of the main payment (cf. ll. 19, 25, and 27), are probably included in the προσμετρούμενα which occur in the official receipts of this period; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 411–2.

24. σιτολ(όγοις): this does not necessarily imply that the payment was for taxation purposes; cf. P. Oxy. III. p. 251.

28–9. The sum of the foregoing items, $52\frac{1}{4}$ artabae 2 choenices, is here converted into $49\frac{3}{4}$ art. 8 choen. θέματος δημοσίου καθαροῦ, whatever that precisely means. The reduction is probably due to two causes at least, (1) the fact that in the preceding items artabae of different sizes were employed, and that some of them were smaller than the artaba meant in l. 29, which very likely contained 42 choenices (cf. l. 21, note); (2) the fact that these artabae ἰδιωτ(ικῶς) were partially or even wholly not καθαραί; cf. P. Tebt. I. 92. 9–11.

30. The doubtful γ has a horizontal stroke over it and seems to mean '3rd'. αὐ(τοῦ) cannot be read.

35. Θεω[: Θώλθεως (cf. l. 14, note) or at least a place name would be expected.

41. Since we do not know which artaba was being employed, it is uncertain how the writer expressed $\frac{1}{3}$ art. at the end of the line.

44. The μήτηρ τῶν ἀφηλίκων, if Ἡρακλεί(δην) is right in l. 43, is the Ἡρακλεία mentioned in l. 42.

741. List of Articles.

16·5 × 9·5 *cm.* Second century.

A list of miscellaneous articles, containing, as such lists commonly do, a number of rare or unknown words.

Δόγ(ος) ἐντολικῶν Εὐγενέτο-		ἱππικὸν	α,
[ρο]ς ἐν δισακιδίῳ·		κελλάριον τριλάγυνον	α,
σφυρὶς διπλῆ καρύων	α,	βι . [.]ων ἀναβολὴ	α,
ἄλλα μεικρὰ	ε,	προχείρια	β,
5 γεργαθὸς	α,	15 ἐν οἷς ὑελα(ῖ) ἡμισυν-	
ἀρνακὶς	α,	θέσεις	γ,

ψήκτρα	α,	ποτηρίων δεκατ( ) δ ποτ( )	α̣,
σόλια ἀρσενικὰ ζεύγ(η)	η̣,	βάτ̣ελλαι	δ,
[γυ]ναικεῖα ζεύγ(η)	ϛ,	σκουτλία	β,
10 σ̣α̣νδάλια ὀνικ(ὰ)	β,	20 ὀξύβαφον	[[·]] α.

7. τ of ψηκτρα above the line. 11. ἵππικον Pap. 15. ὕελα Pap.

'Account of articles at order of Eugenetor in a double sack:—1 double basket of nuts, 5 other small ones, 1 wicker crate, 1 sheepskin, 1 scraper, 8 pairs of men's . . ., 6 pairs of women's ditto, 2 donkey straps (?), 1 horse's ditto, 1 three-flagon jar, 1 bag (?) of . . ., 2 hold-alls containing 3 half-sets of glass, 4 . . . cups and 1 . . ., 4 plates, 2 bowls, 1 saucer.'

4. ἄλλα⟨ι⟩ μεικρα⟨ί⟩ should perhaps be read, as the writer seems to have a tendency to omit final ι (cf. l. 15) and five baskets must be meant; but the neuter may refer to κάρυα.

5. γεργαθός is probably for γυργαθός, meaning a wicker basket.

8. σόλια: or perhaps σέλια, which however is still more difficult. σόλιον might be a diminutive of σόλος or an adjective from Σόλοι, but neither is very suitable. It is hardly likely that the word is connected with στολή, for which σολή was a late Attic form (cf. Du Cange *s. v.*), though some article of attire is evidently meant. Mr. Smyly suggests a connexion with the Latin *soliar*.

10. σανδάλια may mean 'bands' of some kind, the word being used for a medical bandage by Oribasius. But the reading is extremely doubtful; the second letter could be ε and of the first only the smallest vestiges remain.

12. For κελλάριον cf. P. Brit. Mus. 191. 9.

13. ἀναβολή, since it governs a genitive plural, looks like a receptacle of some kind, a sense in which ἀναβολίδιον is found in Macarius, *Apophth. Patr.* 33 ἀναβολίδιον μεστὸν ψωμίων. In the preceding word the vestiges before the lacuna suit only a round letter such as β, θ, ο, or σ; possibly βίβ[λ]ων. There are two dots like a diaeresis above the ι, but they are perhaps accidental.

14. προχείρια are cases or boxes, since they contained glass; but the word is apparently new.

15. Mr. Smyly compares Martial iv. 46. 15 *septenaria synthesis*.

17. The cups are divided into two kinds, but what these are is obscure.

18. βάτελλαι: probably the Latin *patella*.

19. σκουτλία: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 191. 10 and a gloss cited by Du Cange from Cod. Reg. 2062 τρύβλιον σκοῦτλον.

(*g*) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

742. Letter of Antas.

26·5 × 13·7 *cm.* B.C. 2.

A letter from Antas to Faustus, chiefly concerning reeds (*κάλαμος*), written like many other letters of this period in vulgar Greek.

Ἀντᾶς Φ[αύσ]τωι πλεῖστα χαίρειν.
παράλαβε παρὰ Πόθου τὸν κάλα-
μ[ο]ν παναρ[ρ]ιθμῶι καὶ ἀπόστειλόν
μ[ο]ι πόσας δέσμας παρείληφες
5 *καὶ θ[ὲ]ς αὐτὰς εἰς τόπον ἀσ-*
φαλῶς ἵνα τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτὰς
ἄξωμεν. παράδος δέ τινι
τῶν φίλων ἀριθμῷ αὐτὰς ἵνα
πάλιν φ[ί]λος ἡμεῖν παραδοῖ
10 *ἀσφ[αλῶς,] καὶ ἐάν τι δύνῃ*
σὺ ἐ[. . . .]ναί μοι δὸς ἐργασί-
α[ν . . . . . .]σα ἐμὲ ἠγορακέναι
παρ[ὰ . . . ο]υ τὴν χιλίαν δέσμην
(δραχμῶν) δ[εκάπ]ε̣ν̣τε. μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.
15 *ἔρρωσο.*
(ἔτους) κη [Κα]ίσαρος Παῦνι α.

On the verso

Φαυστῶι [. . . . . .]ε̣τενν . ( ) εἰς Νέκλη.

'Antas to Faustus, many greetings. Take over from Pothus the reeds all together, and send me word how many bundles you have received, and put them in a safe place in order that we may take them on the journey up. Deliver a certain number of them to one of our friends in order that a friend may deliver them to me safely, and if you can . . . give your attention to it . . . I have bought from (Pothus?) the 1000 bundles for 15 drachmae. Don't forget. Good-bye. The 28th year of Caesar, Pauni 1. (Addressed) To Faustus . . . at Nekle.'

743. Letter to a Friend.

21·5 × 17·7 *cm.* B.C. 2.

A letter in two columns, of which the first is much broken. The greater part is concerned with the explanation of the writer's reasons for sending Damas, whom he recommends to his friend's good offices.

Col. i.

Parts of 16 lines.

17] θέλω δέ σε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρος
] ἀναγνοῦναι, δεῖ γάρ σε

Col. ii.

εἰ καὶ π[ρ]ὸς ἄλλους εἶχον πρᾶγμα
20 βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ γ[ε]νέσθαι διὰ ἣν
ἔχομε(ν) πρὸς ἑατοὺς φιλίαν. καὶ
γὰρ ἐγὼ ὅλος διαπον[ο]ῦμαι εἰ Ἕλε-
νος χαλκοὺς ἀπόλε[σ]εν, παραγενομ(ένου)
γὰρ Δαμᾶτος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤλ-
25 θαμεν ἐπὶ Ἐπαφρόδειτον καὶ εὑρέ-
θη μήτε εἰληφὼς μήτε δεδωκώ(ς).
ὥστ' ἂν τοῦτό σε θέλω γεινώσκειν
ὅτι ἐγὼ αὐτῷ διαστολὰς δεδώκειν
τὸ βαδίσαι εἰς Τακόνα χάριν τῶν ἐκ-
30 φορίων καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐπειπέπομφα
αὐτὸν πάντα συνλέξαι καὶ περὶ πάν-
των αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν δέδωκα.
ἐν οἷς ἐὰν σοῦ προσδεῆται συνπροσ-
γενέσθαι αὐτῶι ὡς ἀνθομολογη(σομένῳ)
35 ὑπέρ σου οὕτως ὡς ὑπ(έρ) μου. ἐν τῷ δέ
με περισπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνάσθην
συντυχεῖν Ἀπολλω(νίῳ) τῷ Λιβικῷ ἵνα
αὐτῷ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑποδίξω. καὶ σὺ

δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν θέλῃς γράφε μοι καὶ ἀνό-
40 κνως ποήσω, Δαμᾶς γάρ μοι ἀνθωμολ(ογήσατο)
πάντα. καλῶς δὲ γέγονεν τὸ ταχὺ
αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ὑφηγήσεται γάρ σοι.
[σ]εατο(ῦ) ἐπιμε(λοῦ) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς). ἐπισκοπ(οῦ) τοὺς σοὺς πάντε(ς).
ἔρρω[σο.] (ἔτους) κθ Καίσαρος Φαῶ(φι) ς,

20. ν of ην corr. 22. l. ὅλως. 23. l. ἀπώλε[σ]εν. 43. l. πάντα(ς).

'... I wish you and the ... of Caesar to read this (?), for although I (?) have had trouble with others you must assist him for the sake of our friendship. I am quite upset at Helenos' loss of the money; for when Damas arrived at Alexandria we came to Epaphroditus, and it was discovered that he had neither received nor paid anything. I wish you therefore to know this that I had given him orders to go to Takona for the rents, and now I have dispatched him to collect them all and have entrusted to him the care of the whole matter. Whatever service he may require from you, stand by him, as he will agree in everything for you just as for me. Owing to my worries I was unable to meet Apollonius the Libyan in order to inform him of this. Write to me yourself about anything you want, and I will do it without hesitation; for Damas has agreed in everything with me. It is well for him to come quickly, for he will instruct you. Take care of yourself so that you may remain in good health. Look after all your household. Good-bye. The 29th year of Caesar, Phaophi 6.'

18. Some word like οἰκονόμον is probably to be supplied at the beginning.
19. εἶχον whether first singular or third plural is difficult; εἶχες would be expected.
34. ἀνθομολογη(σομένῳ): cf. P. Tebt. 21. 6, P. Par. 42. 7.

744. Letter of Ilarion.

25 × 14·7 *cm.* B.C. I.

A letter from a man who had gone to Alexandria, addressed to his sister (who was no doubt his wife), and to two other women, regarding certain domestic matters. A curious injunction occurs in ll. 9–10.

Ἰλαρίων{α} Ἄλιτι τῆι ἀδελφῆι πλεῖστα χαί-
ρειν καὶ Βεροῦτι τῇ κυρίᾳ μου καὶ Ἀπολλω-
νάριν. γίνωσκε ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀλεξαν-
δρε⟨ί⟩ᾳ ⟨ἔ⟩σμεν· μὴ ἀγωνιᾷς ἐὰν ὅλως εἰσ-
5 πορεύονται, ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρε⟨ί⟩ᾳ μένω.

ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ σε ἐπιμελή-
θ⟨ητ⟩ι τῷ παιδίῳ καὶ ἐὰν εὐθὺς ὀψώνι-
ον λάβωμεν ἀποστελῶ σε ἄνω. ἐὰν
πολλαπολλων τέκῃς ἐὰν ἦν ἄρσε-
10 νον ἄφες, ἐὰν ἦν θήλεα ἔκβαλε.
εἴρηκας δὲ Ἀφροδισιᾶτι ὅτι μή με
ἐπιλάθῃς· πῶς δύναμαί σε ἐπι-
λαθεῖν; ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν ἵνα μὴ ἀγω-
νιάσῃς.
15 (ἔτους) κθ Καίσαρος Παῦνι κγ.

On the verso

Ἰλαρίων Ἄλιτι ἀπόδος.

2. l. Ἀπολλωναρίῳ. 8. l. σοι. 11. δε above the line.

'Ilarion to Alis his sister, many greetings, and to my dear Berous and Apollonarion. Know that I am still even now at Alexandria; and do not worry if they come back altogether (?), but I remain at Alexandria. I urge and entreat you to be careful of the child, and if I receive a present soon I will send it up to you. If (Apollonarion?) bears offspring, if it is a male let it be, if a female expose it. You told Aphrodisias "Don't forget me." How can I forget you? I urge you therefore not to worry. The 29th year of Caesar, Pauni 23. (Addressed.) Deliver from Ilarion to Alis.'

8–10. ἐὰν πολλαπολλων τέκῃς is very obscure. If the second person τέκῃς is right, this passage must refer to the exposure of a female infant. But πολλά would be most extraordinary, apart from the difficulty of constructing πολλῶν. If τέκῃς is altered to τέκῃ we might suppose that an animal was the subject and divide πολλ(ὰ) Ἀπόλλων; but Ἀπόλλων is not a likely name for an animal. Perhaps πολλαπολλων conceals Ἀπολλωνάριον (cf. l. 2); for the use of the second person cf. e.g. **295**. 7.

745. Letter to Gaius Rustius.

11·1 × 18·8 *cm.* About A.D. 1.

Conclusion of a letter, chiefly concerned with money matters. The writer had evidently been in financial difficulties, and was afraid of their recurrence; but the loss of the beginning of the letter makes the transactions under discussion rather obscure. The addressee has a Roman name.

. . . . . .

ἀδελφῆς μ[ου ο]ἴνου κεράμια ἑξή[κοντ]α̣ [πέ]ν̣τε̣ κ̣α̣ὶ δραχ[μὰς δέ]κ̣α τ[ὸ]ν̣
δὲ οἶνον ἠγόρασας ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ἕξ, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἔθου χειρόγραφον [διὰ
Ἀρ]τεμᾶτός
μοι περὶ τοῦ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντᾶν ἀποστήσειν διὰ τὸ κ . [. . . . . .]κέναι
ὡς καὶ ὑπέσχου διὰ τοῦ πολειτάρχου Θεοφίλου, μ[ὴ . .]νε̣[.] . η[. .]να ἄνω-
5 θεν γείνηται πάντα καὶ πάλιν ἑατοὺς ἀνασκευάζωμε[ν] μὴ οὔσης
χρήας. οὐκ οἶδας γὰρ πῶς μοι ἐχρήσατο ἐν Ὀξυρύγχοις οὐχ ὡς λύσα⟨ν⟩τι
ἀλλ' ὥς τινί ποτε ἀποστερητῆι μὴ ἀποδεδωκότι. ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε
μὴ ἄλλως ποῆσαι, οἶδα δὲ ὅτι πάντα καλῶς ποήσεις· οὐ θέλω
γὰρ ἀμφισβήτησιν πρὸς σὲ ἔχειν φίλον μου ὄ[ν]τα. ἀ[σ]πάζου πάντας
10 τοὺς σοὺς καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς. ἔρρωσο.

On the verso

Γαίωι Ῥουστίωι [

6. *υ* of *ουκ* corr. from *ι*.

'. . . from my sister 65 jars of wine and 10 drachmae, and you bought the wine at 6 drachmae, for which you drew me up a bond through Artemas that the said Antas would make the repayment because you had . . . as you promised through the politarch Theophilus, in order that everything may not be completely . . . and we go bankrupt again without any necessity. You don't know how he treated me at Oxyrhynchus (?), not like a man who had paid but like a defrauder and a debtor. I ask you therefore not to do otherwise; but I know that you will do everything well. I do not want to have any dispute with you, as you are my friend. Salute all your household, and take care of your health. Good-bye. (Addressed) To Gaius Rustius . . .'

4. *πολειτάρχου*: *πολειτάρχαι* are known at Thessalonica from Acts xvii. 6 and C. I. G. 1967, but the title is new in Egyptian papyri.

The mutilated word before *ἄνωθεν* is most likely a perfect participle; the letter before *η*[seems to be *λ*, *σ*, or *τ*.

6. *ἐν Ὀξυρύγχοις*: a village *Ὀξύρυγχα* is known in the Fayûm but not in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and it is difficult to believe that the metropolis is not here meant, though *Ὀξυρύγχων* or *Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις* is the normal form. The sentence *οὐκ οἶδας . . . ἀποδεδωκότι* may be interrogative.

746. Letter of Recommendation.

23·2 × 13·5 *cm.* A.D. 16.

A letter from Theon to his brother Heraclides, a basilicogrammateus, introducing the bearer, Hermophilus. Theon is perhaps the same as the writer of **292**, a similar letter of recommendation addressed to the dioecetes on behalf of a brother named Heraclides. Cf. also **787**.

Θέων Ἡρακλείδηι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν.
Ἑρμόφιλος ⟨ὁ⟩ ἀποδ[ι]δούς σοι τὴν
ἐπιστολήν [ἐ]σ̣τ̣[ι] . [. .] . κ[. .]μ̣ . φ̣[.]η̣ρ̣ι
5 *[.]ερίου, καὶ ἠρώτησέν με γράψαι σοι.*
[π]ροφέρεται ἔχειν πραγμάτιον
[ἐν τῆι] Κερκεμούνι. τοῦτο οὖν ἐάν
σοι φα[ί]νηται σπουδάσεις κατὰ τὸ
δίκαιον. τὰ δ' ἄλλα σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμελοῦ
10 *ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς.*
ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι γ.

On the verso

Ἡρακλείδηι βα(σιλικῶι) γρ(αμματεῖ) Ὀξυ(ρυγχίτου) Κυνοπ(ολίτου).

'Theon to Heraclides his brother, many greetings and wishes for good health. Hermophilus the bearer of this letter is (the friend or relative) of . . erius, and asked me to write to you. Hermophilus declares that he has business at Kerkemounis. Please therefore further him in this matter, as is just. For the rest take care of yourself that you may remain in good health. Good-bye. The 3rd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Phaophi 3. (Addressed) To Heraclides, basilicogrammateus of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes.'

4. The letters]στ[are on a separate fragment, the position of which is doubtful.

13. There seems to be an ellipse of *καί* after Ὀξυ(*ρυγχίτου*), though the fact that a basilicogrammateus should have more than one nome under his jurisdiction is remarkable.

747. Invitation to a Feast.

5·1 × 7·3 *cm.* Late second or third century.

An invitation to a feast given by a cavalry officer ; cf. **110** and **523**.

Καλεῖ σε ὁ (δεκάδαρ)χ(ος) εἰς τὴν ξενί-
αν ἑαυτοῦ τῇ ς Καλάν-
δαις ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) η.

2. *υτ* of *εαυτου* corr. from *ν*.

'The decurion invites you to his party on the sixth day before the Calends at eight o'clock.'

V. COLLATIONS OF HOMERIC FRAGMENTS

(The collations of *Il.* i–xii and the *Odyssey* are with the text of Ludwich, those of *Il.* xiii–xxiv with that of La Roche.)

(*a*) *Iliad.*

748. 16·1 × 6·6 cm. Ends of i. 107–116, with occasional stops and elision-marks. 108 ο]υδ[ε] τελεσσας. 113 Κ[λυται]μηστρης. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials of good size.

749. 10·3 × 10 cm. Ends of i. 160–176 from the bottom of a column. Second century, written in heavy round uncials.

750. 8 × 6·3 cm. Parts of ii. 57–73. 62 τ]οσσσ[α. 63 εμεθ]ες. 65 ε]κελευε. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

751. 19·6 × 9·2 cm. Part of a column containing iii. 30–55, with numerous stops and accents, and several corrections (probably by a second hand). 37 υιος. 40 οφε]λος. First ο of άγονος above an α crossed out. 47 αγειρα[ς corrected from εγειρει[ς. 48 γ of ανηγες above the line. 50 πολη̈ι corr. from πολιη. 51 κατηφείη. 53] [[..]]φωτος. ς of εχεις above the line. 54 οι of χράισμοι above η crossed out. Late second or third century, written in a neat uncial hand of the oval type.

752. 11 × 8 cm. Beginnings of iv. 87–96, with numerous stops, breathings and accents. 93 The first hand had η ρ α]ν̣ μοι; a second hand seems to have corrected ν and has added δ̣ε above μοι. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

753. 19·2 × 6·4 cm. On the recto part of a second or third century account. On the verso parts of iv. 364–398, with numerous stops, breathings and accents. 369 is omitted, as in A. 378 εστρατοων] [[.]]θ'[. 381 πὰρ ἀι[σια. 382 ὤχοντο ιδ[ε corr. to ωχοντ ηδ[ε (?). 387 ε of εων above the line. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

754. 5·5 × 2·5 cm. On the recto ends of 7 lines of a document mentioning a ζυμουργ(ός). First century. On the verso a few letters from iv. 532–539. 535 πεδε[μιχθη. First century, written in a good-sized irregular uncial hand.

755. 19 × 6 cm. On the recto part of a document in a cursive hand of the early part of the third century. On the verso a few letters from the ends

of v. 130–173, forming a complete column, with numerous stops, accents, breathings, and marks of elision and quantity (all probably added later). 134 ε]μ[[ε]]ίχθη. 151 εξενα]ριξεν. 153 ι of λυγ]ρωι added by a second hand. Third century, written in an upright hand of the oval type.

756. 6·8 × 8·2 cm. Fragment of the bottom of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto the ends of v. 324–334, and on the verso parts of 379–390, with elision-marks. 332 κυρανεουσαι. 382 τετ]λατι. 384 λγ of αλγε[corr. 388 θ of ενθ added above the line (?). απολυτο. 390 η of εξηγγειλεν above α, which is crossed through, ξ having been also corrected. Late third or fourth century, written in a semi-uncial hand.

757. 4·2 × 3 cm. Parts of v. 578–586. 582 εγ δ. First century, written in round uncials.

758. 9·6 × 11·4 cm. v. 583–596, the lines being nearly complete, from the top of a column, with stops, breathings, accents and elision-marks. 583 ελεφ[αν]τα. 586 δε και. 587 ειστηκει. 588 ιππων . . . πεσον εν. Late second or third century, written in a neat uncial hand of the oval type.

759. 12·7 × 2·9 cm. A few letters from the ends of v. 662–682, from the end of a column, with stops (high and low point) and accents. 667 αμ]φις έπουτ[ες, confirming the conjecture of Brandreth. Third century, written in a neat upright uncial hand of the oval type.

760. Fr. (*b*) 7·3 × 4·9 cm. Two fragments, the first containing a few letters from the beginnings of v. 715–718, the second parts of 720–729. 724 ε of χρυσεη above the line. First century, written in round upright uncials.

761. 21 × 11 cm. On the recto part of an effaced document. On the verso vi. 147 and 148, and, after a lacuna which may have contained 2 lines, parts of ll. 147 and 149 and another line, the whole being a writing exercise. 148 τηλεθωσα. Late first century B.C., written in a large semi-uncial hand.

762. 19·8 × 8·5 cm. On the recto ends of lines of a list of persons, written in a cursive hand in the late second or early third century. On the verso the latter parts of vii. 1–35, forming a complete column. 5 ελατησιν. 16 δυντο. 30 μαχησ]ομεθ. 31 omitted. Third century, written in small upright uncials.

763. 24·4 × 10 cm. Part of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto the latter portions of vii. 68–101, and on the verso the earlier portions of 69–134, with stops, breathings and accents. 72 ν of ποντοποροισιν added by a second hand. 73 Παναχαιων. 77 ι of έλητι added above the line by a second hand. 112 Final ι of Πριαμιδηι added above the line by a second hand. τον τε τρομ[εουσι (a new reading; cf. ὑποτρομέουσι in Vindob. 61). 113 Αχιλλευς.

133 ι of ωκυροωι added above the line by a second hand. Third century, written in good-sized oval uncials.

764. 9·6 × 2·8 cm. A few letters from the beginnings of viii. 109–122, with stops, breathings and accents. Third century, written in oval uncials.

765. 8·1 × 5·4 cm. Ends of ix. 320–333, with stops, breathings and accents (oxytones having a grave accent on the final syllable). 323 First ι of προφερηισι added above the line. 324 δέ τέ. 325 υ of ιαυον above λλ crossed out. Third century, written in oval uncials.

766. 5·8 × 5·8 cm. A few letters from the ends of x. 542–547, from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

767. 6·6 × 4·3 cm. A few letters from the ends of xi. 555–561, with stops. Second century, written in good-sized round uncials.

768. 14 × 12·9 cm. Fragment from the top of a column, containing parts of xi. 736–764. 739 Αυ[γ]ειδαο. 740 ξ]ανθ[η]ν [.]ν̣α[μη]δ[η]ν. 750 απαλαξα. 755 [α]υτος. 756 Βουβρ[ασ]ιου. 757 Αλεσι[ου]. 758 Παλλας Αθηνη. 760 Βουβρασιου. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

769. Fr. (*a*) 4·5 × 3·1 cm. Two fragments containing a few letters from xiii. 308–317 and 342–347, with accents. 316 omitted. 344 γηθησ]ειε λ.[with ν ϊδ[above λ. Late second or third century, written in a neat uncial hand of the oval type.

770. 4·7 × 7·9 cm. A few letters from the ends of xiii. 372–377 and the beginnings of 405–413, with stops, breathings and accents. 372 πη]ξεν. 374 In the margin επαιν[εσομαι and below it αινιξομ[αι, referring to the variants αἰνίζομαι and αἰνίξομαι; cf. Schol. A αἰνίζομ' φέρεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ξ̄ αἰνίξομαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινέσομαι. Ζηνόδοτος αἰνίσσομαι. 410 In the margin between this and l. 411 is a critical sign shaped like ⲉ̀. Second century, written in round upright uncials.

771. 14 × 7·8 cm. On the recto beginnings of xv. 736–746, with occasional breathings and accents. 740 καικλιμ[ενοι. 742 αι and first ω of μαιμωων above ε and ο. 744 ι of κηλειω added later (by a second hand?). At the end a coronis and the title in large letters Ιλιαδ[ος ο. Late second or early third century, written in handsome good-sized uncials of the oval type. On the verso 12 nearly complete lines of a money-account in third century cursive.

772. 10·2 × 5·9 cm. Ends of xvii. 353–373, with stops, breathings and accents. 361 αγ]χηστιν[οι. 363 αν αἰμωτι. 369 Final ι of Μενοιτιαδηι added above the line. 371 α of αιθερι corr. from ε. Second or third century, written in a rather small uncial hand.

(*b*) *Odyssey.*

773. Height of roll 24·4 cm. Seven fragments from four columns of a MS. of ii, containing a few letters from 304–312, 339–357 (top of a column), ends of 362–374 (top of a column), and parts of 386–410 (a whole column), with stops (high and middle point) and occasional accents. 341 above εχον]τες is]δι[. . .]ο. 368 δασ]ωνται. 369 υ of ουδε corr. 372 (end of the line)]πη or]. ιη. 401 [ει]δομενη[[ι]]. 407 omitted. 408 ε of θειν added above the line by a second hand. Αχ]αιο[υς. Second century, written in very large heavy uncials (cf. **661**), the letters measuring 5 mm. in height.

774. 4·5 × 7·5 cm. Parts of iii. 226–231. 227 ειπ]ες, the ε being added by a second hand above α crossed through. 228 θεος ε[, the ς being corrected from ι (?). Third century, written in good-sized sloping oval uncials.

775. 8·4 × 4·1 cm. Parts of iv. 388–400 from the bottom of a column, with occasional breathings and accents. 396 α of αλεη[ται above η crossed through. 399 omitted. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

776. 6·2 × 2·4 cm. A few letters from iv. 520–529 from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents. First or early second century, written in round uncials.

777. 12·2 × 8·8 cm. Part of the lower portion of a leaf of a book, containing on the recto the beginnings of v. 7–17 and on the verso the ends of 34–44, with stops, breathings and accents. Fourth century, written in good-sized sloping oval uncials, in brown ink.

778. 20·6 × 17·2 cm. On the recto a nearly complete column containing x. 26–50, with stops (high, middle and low point). 27 Second ι of αφραδιησιν added above the line; similarly final ι of δεκατηι in 29, τωι and αλλωι in 32. 31 επελλαβε. 34 επεσσι. 38 εσσι. 42 νεισομεθα. 46 βουλη τε. Late second or third century, written in handsome round upright uncials. On the verso parts of the last 7 lines of a letter in a cursive hand of the late third century.

779. 6·2 × 9·6 cm. x. 124–130 from the top of a column, the lines being nearly complete, with breathings and accents. Late second or third century, written in a clear cursive hand.

780. 17·7 × 8·5 cm. A few letters from the ends of xi. 471–493, and the earlier portions of 523–545, from the bottoms of columns, with stops and occasional accents. 533 δη Τρωεσσι with ωυ (in a second hand) above εσσι. 539 βιβῶσα. 544 φ of νοσφιν above τ crossed out. αφειστηκει. 545 μιν with ε above ι added by a second hand. Second century (?), written in an uncial hand of the oval type and archaic appearance, Ξ being formed Ξ.

781. 6 × 3·8 cm. Fragment of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto parts of xvi. 243–256, and on the verso the ends of 288–301, with stops, breathings and accents (in lighter ink). 293 δε δαιτα. 295 δ of δουρε corr. Third century, written in rather small sloping oval uncials.

782. 7·3 × 5·3 cm. Fragment of the bottom of a leaf of a book containing on the verso parts of xvii. 137–148, and on the recto ends of 182–193, with stops and accents (in lighter ink). 187 γενέσθαι. Third century, written in rather small sloping oval uncials.

783. 11·7 × 4·4 cm. Ends of xvii. 410–428, with stops. 417 αλλωι. Late first century B.C., written in good-sized irregular uncials.

VI. DESCRIPTIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

784. Fourteen fragments of a document containing on both sides several columns, the recto consisting for the most part of lists of persons, the verso of a private account (continued on the recto), which mentions *καὶ προσ/* (i. e. *προσγίνονται*) *τιμῆ(ς)* (*πυροῦ*) (*ἡμίσους*) *τοῦ πεπραμένου Διδύμῳ* 'Αρ (i.e. 1100 copper drachmae), [λ]*ύτρα ἱερῶν ἐγ* Μούχεω(ς) *φ, ἰχθυδίου κ, ζύτους ι, ᾠῶν β κε, ἐλαίου κο*(*τύλης*) *α ρπ, οἴνου κ*(*εραμίων*) *β* (*τάλαντον*) *α*, and payments for 'Ελληνικῶν. A conversion of silver into copper drachmae occurs, *τιμῆ(ς) ἀργυ*(*ρίου*) (*δραχμῶν*) *η ὑπ*(*ὲρ*) *τοῦ πατρὸ*(*ς*) 'Βψ (a ratio of $337\frac{1}{2}:1$, which is unusually low; cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 580[1]). First century B. C.

785. 14·7 × 9 cm. An undertaking by a surety to produce a certain individual who had been committed to his charge; cf. **259.** After the first 5 lines, which seem to have contained the address but are much broken, the papyrus concludes *ὁμολο*(*γῶ*) *παρε*[*ι*]*ληφέναι Ξένωνα* 'Ηρακλέους *παρὰ σοῦ ὃν καὶ παρέξομαι ἐν τῶι ἐμφανεῖ ἐκτὸς ἱεροῦ βωμοῦ τεμένους πάσης σκέπης.* About A. D. 1. 12 lines in all.

786. 14·3 × 8·4 cm. Conclusion of a census-return on oath, written by Aristion and Didymus on Tubi 30 of the third year of Hadrian (A. D. 119), the portion preserved corresponding to **480.** 7 sqq. *προγεγραμμένων* (cf. **480.** 15) is apparently written *ᾱγεγ*. Below the signatures in two different hands are official dockets *κατεχ*(*ωρίσθη*) *λαογρ*(*άφοις*) Νό(*του*) Δρό(*μου*) *χρό*(*νος*) *ὁ αὐ*(*τός*), and *κατεχω*(*ρίσθη*) *λαογρ*(*άφοις*) 'Ιπ(*πέων*) Παρε(*μβολῆς*) *χρό*(*νος*) *ὁ αὐ*(*τός*). 20 lines, which are complete except the first.

787. 19·9 × 13·3 cm. Concluding part of a letter of recommendation (cf. **746**). The first 5 lines are *ὡς ἔστιν ἡμέτερος. ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐάν σοι προσέρχηται* [[*ποι*]] *ἐκ δικαίου εἰς τ̣ὴν ἐ*[*μ*]*ὴν καταλογὴν ποιήσεις αὐτῶι.* [*σ*]*ὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν αἱρῇ γράφε.* Dated in the second year of Tiberius, Pharmouthi 11 (A. D. 16). 9 lines.

[1] The problems of Ptolemaic copper coinage have recently been discussed by Hultsch in *Abhand. d. Königl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1903. We regret to be compelled to observe that owing to the adoption of Revillout's long exploded theories based on demotic, and the failure to appreciate the evidence of the Tebtunis papyri with the arguments brought against the 120 : 1 ratio in our App. ii to that volume, the article seems to us a step backwards rather than forwards.

788. 11·7 × 10 cm. On both recto and verso parts of two columns of a private account in copper drachmae. A conversion of silver into copper (δραχμαὶ) δ 'ΑΤμ (a ratio of 485 : 1) occurs; among the other items are ἀρταβῶν παρη( ) 'Α, αἰτητῆι ρ, τέλος οἴνου 'Βυ, μεμβράδος ('anchovy') [. Early first century B. C. In Col. i of the recto the first 8 lines are complete, the rest being imperfect throughout.

789. 9·7 × 13 cm. Part of a letter. Lines 2–9 ἔδωκά σοι ἐν 'Οξυρ[ύ(γχων)] Διονυσίου Φανίου ἐπιστολείδιον κεχαραγμέ(νον) εἰς ιδ μηνὸ(ς) Καισαρείου τοῦ διελθόντος ι (ἔτους) περὶ τοῦ σε δοῦναί μοι ἴσας ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Διονύ(σιος) ἔσχεν παρ' ἐμοῦ (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) δδ' χ(οινίκων) ϛ. The tenth year probably refers to Tiberius or Claudius. 11 lines.

790. 8·7 × 12·8 cm. Beginnings of 8 lines of an official letter from Dionysius to Ptolemaeus enclosing a copy of another letter. ἐπιστάται τῶν ἱππάρχων are mentioned. Late second century B. C. Written across the fibres. On the verso beginnings of 6 more lines in a different hand.

791. 14·7 × 6 cm. Letter from Didymus to his brother Apollonius, beginning ἐπιμέμνησμαι 'Αμμωνίῳ τῶι ἀδελφῷ περὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ εἰς συναγορασμ(ὸν) ἐρίων . . . Addressed on the verso 'Απολλωνίωι. About A. D. 1. Incomplete, the end being lost. 12 lines.

792. 8·4 × 27·2 cm. On the recto an incomplete account of payments of wheat to various persons, containing 19 lines. On the verso another practically complete account of receipts and payments, mentioning λιτο[υ]ργο(ῖς) ρμ, Φωσφόρῳ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ∠ κ, ναύ(λου) πορε(ίων) δ ∠ η, Φωσφόρῳ καὶ αυ . . υζ( ) εἰς ἐφόδ(ια) ∠ μ. ∠ perhaps means δραχμαί. 13 lines. The writing on the recto is across the fibres, that on the verso along them. First century B. C.

793. 24 × 11·5 cm. Acknowledgement of payments of wheat εἰς τὸ δημόσιον by various persons ἀπὸ διαστολ(ῆς) of other persons. Dated in the seventh year of Domitian, Caesarius 16 (A. D. 88). Nearly complete. 18 lines.

794. 21·2 × 15·6 cm. Conclusion of a contract for the sale of $1\frac{1}{48}$ arourae of catoecic land, with the signatures, which are nearly complete, and following the same formula as **504**. The seller was Asclepiades, the buyer a woman called Σιντότις (?) or Σιντότου, and the price 500 drachmae of silver. The land was περὶ Θ . θῶθιν ἐκ τοῦ Εὔφρωνος αλα κλήρου (*sic*). Written in the fifth year of Domitian (A. D. 85–6). 36 lines.

795. Fr. (*a*) 4·5 × 13·3 cm. Two fragments of a marriage-contract dated in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81–96). The husband is called Heraclides, the wife (?) Sarapous. Line 4 γ]αμετὴν φερνὴν προσφερομένην δα[κτύλιον] χρυσοῦν τεταρτῶ[ν (cf. **496**. 6, note), and lower down]τευμένην κατὰ τοὺς τῆς χώρα[ς νόμους occurs. Written across the fibres. Parts of 12 lines in all.

796. 3 × 8·3 cm. Parts of 7 lines from the beginning of a marriage-contract written in the reign of Trajan (A. D. 98–117), mentioning *ἐν παραφέρνοις κλαλίων ἀργ[υρῶν ζεῦγος* (?). For *κλαλίον* = *κλανίον* ('bracelet') cf. **114**. 11. Written across the fibres.

797. 5·5 × 10 cm. On the recto an entry concerning the measurement of the land of Thotsutaios, *διάφορον σχοι(νισμοῦ) Θοτσυταῖος τοῦ Ὥρου τῶν ἐν τῆι συ( ) τῶν πα( ) ἀπὸ τοῦ ιε τοῦ καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) περὶ κώ(μην) . . .* For *διάφορον σχοινισμοῦ* cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 229. The reign is that of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Alexander (B. C. 103–2). 4 lines. On the verso 2 lines from the beginning of a document mentioning *Νεμέρα κω(μο)γρ(αμματεύς)*.

798. 7·8 × 9·2 cm. Conclusion of a letter, ending *ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποδοῦναι, ὡς δ' ἂν παραγένωνται οἱ σιτολόγοι ἐπὶ τὴν παράληψιν τῶν σιτικῶν ἀπομετρήσομεν ἅμα καὶ ταῦτα. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κγ Φαῶφι.* The twenty-third year probably refers to Epiphanes (B. C. 183). 8 lines.

799. 30·5 × 25 cm. One complete and one incomplete column of an account of sums owed and interest upon them, beginning *τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρήᾳ ασσχηκε* (? l. *ἃ ἔσχηκε*) *χειρο⌊ Θέωνο(ς) ἐν πλοίῳ.* Then follows a list of names and amounts, e.g. *Ταυρείνου καὶ Σενείθου (δραχμαὶ) τ τόκ(ου) ἕως Μεσορὴ (δραχμαὶ) οζ.* The second column is also concerned with loans; *εἰς δανισμόν* occurs. About A. D. 1. 34 lines.

800. 18·7 × 12·5 cm. Beginnings of 19 lines of an official document enclosing a letter of Valerius Athenodorus. Lines 4–10 (which begin a new section, as is indicated by the size of the initial letter) *Καὶ διὰ λόγο(υ) (δωδεκα)μήνου [, ἐδηλώθη διαγεγράφθαι [, νομοῦ τούτου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον [, ποταμοῦ τῷ ις (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τ[οῦ κυρίου, Φήλικος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἐργατεία ἐκ τῷ[ν, αἱρεθέντων ἐξ εὐσχημόνων ὑπὸ Ἡρακ[λ . . ., προχρείας ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ λόγου εἰς τὴν [.* Written about A. D. 153.

801. 19·2 × 12·3 cm. Fragment of a notification addressed to Euangelius also called Sarapion, strategus, by Diogenes, enclosing an authorization to the strategus from the archidicastes in answer to a petition by Diogenes. Cf. **485** and **719**. In the upper margin is a short note from the strategus (cf. B. G. U. 578. 1) dated in the second year of Gaius Pescennius Niger (A. D. 193). The letter of the archidicastes to the strategus is dated Thoth 18 (probably of the same year). 35 lines, of which the ends are lost.

802. 7 × 7 cm. Parts of 11 lines from the beginning of a contract, one of the parties being called *Σιμάριστος*. Dated in the 1[.]th year of Ptolemy (Alexander the god) Philometor and Berenice, i. e. B. C. 101–95. On the verso a docket.

803. 15 × 5 cm. Fragment of an official letter or petition, containing 3 com-

plete and 3 incomplete lines, with traces of a preceding column. Lines 2–5 *καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπιστατείας φ[υ]λακιτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν κατ' ἔτος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ὁμολογουμένων διαγράφεσθαι (δραχμῶν) Γ ἀπῃτῆσθαι βιαιό[τ]ερον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ φύλακας ὑπό τε τοῦ [. . . . . καὶ] Πτολεμαίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ . . .* Late first century B. C. On the verso parts of two columns of an account.

804. Width 9·9 cm. Horoscope dated in the twenty-seventh year of Augustus, Phaophi 5 *περὶ ὥρα(ν) γ τῆς ἡμέρα(ς)* (Oct. 2 (?) A. D. 4). The sun was in Libra, the moon in Pisces, Saturn in Taurus, Jupiter in Cancer, Mars in Virgo. Taurus was setting, and Aquarius at the nadir. After the astronomical details the papyrus concludes *ἔχει κινδύνους· φυλάσσου ἕως ἡμερῶ(ν) μ χάριν τοῦ Ἄρεως.* Incomplete, being broken in the middle. 15 lines in all.

805. 6·6 × 7·6 cm. Conclusion of a letter written on Epeiph 20 of the fifth year of Augustus (B. C. 25). Lines 2 sqq. *ζητῶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐρχομένοις πλ[ο]ίοις καλαὶ φάσεις ἐλεύσονται παρ' [ἐ]μοῦ, ἀξιῶ δὲ ἀντιφωνεῖν [μ]οι πυκνότερον. ἀσπάζου πάντας τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ σεαυτῆς ἐπιμελοῦ ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς εὐτυ(χοῦσα). ἔρρω(σο).* 9 lines.

806. 15·9 × 35·4 cm. Account, in two columns, of expenditure of copper money for various purposes in the tenth year (of Augustus, i. e. B. C. 21–0). Among the items are *ἱερεῦσι Θοήριος Δ, Κεφαλᾷ χρυσοχόῳ Γσ, Σαραπίωνι εἰς πραγματήαν Αφ, διὰ τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου τραπέζης λάξοις (τάλαντον) α.* Complete. 21 lines.

807. 16·8 × 21·1 cm. Fragment of an official list of sheep and goats belonging to different persons at a village. Col. i contains the ends of 5 lines. Col. ii has *ὧν αὐτοῦ ἴδια π, αἶγ(ες) δ, καὶ Ἀρσινόης φορικὰ μ̣ε, Ἀχορίνιος ἴδια μ αἶγες γ. / ρξε αἶγες ζ. γίνεται τῆς κώμης πρό(βατα) Δσμα αἶγες τλς, ὧν Ἀρσινόης φορικ(ὰ) σμ.* The sheep which were *Ἀρσινόης φορικά* as contrasted with those that were private property seem to have been subject to a special impost (*φόρος*), payable nominally to Arsinoë (i. e. Arsinoë Philadelphus probably), but really of course to the State; cf. the *ἀπόμοιρα* in the Revenue Papyrus. About A. D. 1. On the verso part of an account.

808. Height 36 cm. A list of abstracts (*διαστρώματα*) of contracts for loan; cf. **274** and P. Oxy. II. p. 176. One column, numbered at the top *ρμε*, is practically complete, and there are parts of another in three separate fragments. The first entry is *[ἐ]ν Παλώσει· ὁμολ(ογεῖ) Ἅρπαλος Ἑρμω̣ν̣[ος τοῦ . . . .] . . . . . ους ἀπ' Ὀξυ(ρύγχων) πόλεως Παυσίρει Πετσίριος ἀπὸ τῆ(ς) αὐ(τῆς) κώμης Παλώσεως Θμο(ισεφὼ) τοπ(αρχίας) ἀπέχ(ειν) παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) σι κεφαλ(αίου) ἃς ἐδά(νεισεν) αὐτῶι διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐ(τῇ) κώμῃ γραφίου τῷ ἐνεσ(τῶτι) (ἔτει) μηνὶ Νερωνείωι Σεβαστῶι.* (Second hand) *ἠθέ(τισται) μη(νὶ) Νερωνείωι Σεβαστῶι ιδ, ἀπόδ(οσις) λ [μ]η(νὸς) Νερωνείου τοῦ ια (ἔτους), ενχ( ) λελυ̣(μένη?).*

A marginal note (probably by the second hand) has] . ̣ποχ( ) ἐν ἀπο(γραφῇ) ι (ἔτους). The other entries refer to loans ἐν Σεφώι, ἐν Κεσμούχ(ει) or ἐν Τήει, and follow the same formula with similar later additions. The month after ἠθέ(τισται), (which is once written ἠθέτισ(ται)), is uniformly that in which the contract was drawn up. θεὸς Κλαύδιος is mentioned, and the papyrus was probably written in the reign of Nero (A.D. 54–68). 43 lines in Col. i, besides the marginal notes.

809. 16·7 × 6·4 cm. Ends of 22 lines from the beginning of a contract drawn up before the agoranomi for the sale (?) of a female slave called Τεχωσοῦς. Dated in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117).

810. 14·6 × 10 cm. Proposal (ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι) addressed to Claudia Ptolema by Dioscorus for the lease of 3 arourae of βασιλικὴ γῆ near Sinaru in the κλῆρος of Xenon for the nineteenth year of Hadrian (A.D. 134–5). The land, being ἐκ μέρους ἐν ἀβρόχου (l. -χῳ), was to be irrigated by the lessee at his own expense and cultivated χόρτῳ εἰς κοπὴν καὶ θερινὴν ἐπινομήν at the total rent of 120 drachmae, the δημόσια being paid by the lessor. Cf. **730**, the formula of which is almost identical. Nearly complete, but broken at the bottom. Title on the verso. 27 lines.

811. 7·7 × 9·4 cm. 8 lines from the beginning of a letter from Πέλλις to Ant[as ?] beginning καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔγρ[αψά σο]ι εὐχαριστῶν Ἑρμίππου (l. -πῳ) ὅτι πάντα μοι ποεῖ εἰς τὴν σὴν καταλογήν (cf. **787**), καὶ τὰ νῦν εἴ σοι φαί[νε]ται γράψον αὐτῷ . . . Address on the verso. About A.D. 1.

812. 10·2 × 8·3 cm. Fragment of a letter containing in a postscript (l. 5) πεπίασται Λοκρίων [, (l. 6) ρικαρις ὑπὸ Λουκίου (ὑπ. Λ. above the line) ἤκουσα γὰρ ὅ[τ]ι [, (l. 7) τὴν λωρῖκαν αὐτοῦ [. Dated in the twenty-fifth year of Augustus, Athur (B.C. 5). 8 lines.

813. 15 × 11·7 cm. Conclusion of a letter in which the writer requests that a cargo of barley may be sent to him. About A.D. 1. 7 lines.

814. 21·5 × 11·6 cm. Fragment of an account in two columns. Among the entries are πακτωνίταις . . . ἀπὸ Θελβώι . . ., Κῦνος Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐεργέτ[ιδος . . . Written in the fourth year (probably of Tiberius, i.e. A.D. 17–8). 15 incomplete lines in Col. ii.

815. 27·9 × 11·3 cm. Fragment of an account containing names and sums of money arranged under different dates, the beginnings of lines being lost. The proper name Ὀνθονόβει (dative) occurs. About A.D. 1. 19 lines.

816. Fr. (*a*) 14·3 × 13·1 cm. Three fragments of an account containing names and sums of money.]ς Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἰησοῦς occurs. 10 incomplete lines in Fr. (*a*). On the verso part of another account mentioning the twenty-fifth year (of Augustus, i.e. B.C. 6–5).

817. 9·7 × 20 cm. 5 nearly complete lines from the top of a column containing a list of names and sums of money, a larger and a smaller, the second being probably interest, e.g.].δ( ) διὰ Ἀντέρωτος Λοκρητίου Παχὼν β (δραχμαὶ) ρν (δραχμαὶ) η. The twenty-first year (of Augustus, i.e. B.C. 10–9) is mentioned. On the verso part of another account.

818. 6·8 × 9 cm. Ends of the first 7 lines of a contract dated in the thirty-fourth year of Augustus (A.D. 4–5), written in a semi-uncial hand.

819. 8·6 × 10·6 cm. Conclusion of a letter concerning the sale of wine or oil, ending τὰ δὲ προκείμενα χ(όας) δ πεπρᾶσ{σ}θαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀνὰ δραχ(μὰς) πέντε, τὰ κόρι⟨α?⟩ ἐκ δραχ(μῶν) ἓξ (τριωβόλου). About A.D. 1. 6 lines.

820. 10·2 × 17·9 cm. End of a letter containing the date (twenty-seventh year of Augustus, Tubi 1[.], i.e. B.C. 3) and a postscript of 7 lines, giving various directions.

821. 11·5 × 6·2 cm. Ends of the first 9 lines of a letter to a daughter. About A.D. 1.

822. 5·4 × 13 cm. Beginning of a letter from Lysimachus to his brother. εὖ πράσσειν takes the place of χαίρειν. About A.D. 1. 4 lines.

823. 24 × 10·2 cm. Fragment of the conclusion of a lease of land near Μερμέρθ[α? Cf. **277.** Dated in the twenty-fifth year of Augustus, Phaophi (B.C. 6). Written on the verso, the recto being blank. 13 incomplete lines.

824. 4·8 × 2·5 cm. Fragment containing parts of the first 10 lines of a contract dated in the sole reign of Ptolemy (Alexander the god) Philometor (B.C. 101–88).

825. 7·8 × 15·9 cm. Beginning of an account of which the heading is Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς μισθωταῖς ξενικῆς πρακτορείας παρὰ Σαραπίωνο[ς] πραγματευτοῦ Μέμφεως Μ[ε]μφ[ε]ίτου. λόγος λήμματος καὶ ἀναλώμ[α]τος μηνῶν τριῶν ἀπ[ὸ] Φαρμοῦθι ἕως Παῦνι τοῦ ε [(ἔτους) . . . The beginnings of lines of a second column are preserved, containing a list of entries each commencing with π(αρά). On the importance of this papyrus for the ξενικὴ πρακτορεία see **712.** introd. Second century. On the verso in a different hand (?) parts of the first 6 lines of a document mentioning the ἐγκτήσεων βιβλιοφυλάκιον, perhaps the draft of a declaration.

826. 9·5 × 11·9 cm. Fragment of the conclusion of a notice sent to some official, apparently an announcement of a death. Lines 1 sqq. Δίδυμ[ος] Χαριτ.( ) γέρδιος [μετήλλαξε? τὸν] βίον τῶι ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ Τύβι τοῦ δευτέρο(υ) ⟨καὶ⟩ τριακο[σ]τοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος. διὸ ἀξιῶι ἐὰν φαίνηται καταχωρισθῆναι τοῦτο [. . . . . ἐν] τοῖς παρὰ σοὶ βιβλίοις . . . A.D. 3. 9 lines. On the verso the beginning of an account.

827. 13·5 × 6·8 cm. Part of a list of names. About A.D. 1. 18 lines.

828. 5·8 × 10 cm. Parts of 6 lines of a petition concerning the measurements of a piece of land. Early first century B.C. On the verso parts of 6 much effaced lines of another document.

829. 12·3 × 9·3 cm. Part of a letter from *Σωγένης* to his sister. About A.D. 1. 13 lines.

830. 15·3 × 5·6 cm. End of 17 lines of an official letter, enclosing other documents. Phaophi 28 of the twenty-first year (of Philometor probably, i.e. B.C. 155) is mentioned. Written across the fibres. On the verso part of a line.

831. Fr. (*a*) 6·1 × 9·2 cm. Two fragments of a contract beginning *ἔτους ζ* [. . . . *ἐν*] *Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πό(λει) τῆς Θηβ[αίδ(ος).* *ὁμο]λογεῖ Λεπτίν[ης* . .]*μώνακτος Μακεδὼν τῶν Σωγιψάριος πεζῶν Ἡρακλείδη[ι* . . . . The sovereign is Ptolemy Soter II, and the date therefore B.C. 111–0. 8 lines.

832. 14 × 21·3 cm. Parts of two columns of a taxing-list of some kind. Col. ii begins *γίνεται τὸ π(ᾶν?) ἐπικεφαλαίου, Τεῶτος ἀρσενικὰ ρμ, θηλυκὰ ριζ,* / [*συζ.*] *Βησᾶτο(ς)* . . The fifteenth year of Augustus (B.C. 16–5) is mentioned in Col. i. In the blank space between the columns a second hand has written *Ζεῦ μάκαρ ἀθανάτων*, and a third the beginning of an acknowledgement of a payment at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus. On the verso traces of two other documents.

833. 11·8 × 16 cm. Beginning of an official report concerning *ἡμιολίαι σπερμάτων.* Lines 1–7 *συνάγονται ἀπὸ ἡμιολίας σπερμ[άτων] Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου)· τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τόπον σιτολ[όγων] ὡμολο(γημένων) κεχορη(γῆσθαι) εἰς κληρουχ( ) αἱ γ . . [. . .] ἀνει( ) (πυροῦ) σοεδ′, δι(αφόρου) μη∠δ′, λ[ο(ιπαὶ)] σκ⟨ς⟩∠. ἄλλης ἡμιολίας· τῶν σημαινομένων ὑ[πὸ] τῶν τοῦ νομοῦ τοπογραμμα(τέων) πλείωι κεχορη[γῆσθαι* . . . Cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 226–7. About A.D. 1. 8 lines.

834. 4·5 × 9·8 cm. Conclusion of a letter dated in the twenty-sixth year of Augustus, Mesore (B.C. 4), mentioning a voyage *εἰς Ὄμβους.* 6 lines.

835. 19·8 × 12·8 cm. An offer to purchase confiscated land at Pela, addressed to Gaius Sep[p]ius Rufus; cf. **721**, which has the same formula. The purchase price, which was to be paid *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Σ[α]ρ[απείῳ δη]μοσίαν* [*τραπέζαν*, was not less than 100 drachmae. The earlier portion is much mutilated. For the conclusion see **721**. 14–5, note. About A.D. 13. 14 lines.

836. 13·5 × 12·8 cm. Loan of 32 artabae *πυροῦ στερεοῦ* from Theoxenus to two *Πέρσαι* [*τῆς ἐπιγον*]*ῆς* and a third person. Lines 6 sqq. *ἀποδότωσαν δὲ οἱ δεδανεισμένοι Θεοξένῳ τὰς τριάκοντα δύο ἀρτάβας τῶν πυρῶν ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἑκκαιδεκάτου ἔτους ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει πυρὸν στερεὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ ἀγ⟨ο⟩ρανομικῷ καταστήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀ[ν]ηλώμασι κ.τ.λ.* For

μέτρον ἀγορανομικόν cf. **740**. 17, note, and for the formula cf. the late Ptolemaic loans from Gebelên, e.g. P. Grenf. I. 23. First century B.C.; the sixteenth year refers to Neos Dionysus (B.C. 66–5) or Augustus (B.C. 15–4). Nearly complete, but broken at the beginning. 30 lines. The papyrus has been gummed on to two similar documents, of which parts of a few lines are preserved.

837. 18·6 × 15·5 cm. Will of Apollos daughter of Paësis, leaving her property at Kerkemounis jointly to Didymus son of Dio[genes], probably a son by her first marriage, and to the offspring of her present marriage with Apollos son of Ophelas, with provisions for the *φερνή* and *παράφερνα* of a daughter and for the guardianship of the children. Dated in the second year of Hadrian (A.D. 117–8). Cf. **489–95**. Written across the fibres. 30 lines, of which only the beginnings are preserved.

838. 30·5 × 9·5 cm. Lease of land at the *Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον* from Diogenes to two persons, with the signature of the lessor. The formula follows that of e.g. **499**. The conclusion is *τῆς ἐπινομῆς οὔσης τοῦ Διογένους. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις.* Dated in the twenty-first year of Hadrian, Thoth (A.D. 136). Incomplete. 52 lines.

839. 27·5 × 17·1 cm. Letter from Eutychides to his mother, the earlier part describing an accident to a boat. Lines 6 sqq. *ὡς ἐναυάγησεν κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα καὶ ἦλθέ μοι γυμνὸς κεκινδυνευκώς. εὐθέως ἠγόρασα αὐτῶι στολήν.* A *μαχαιροφόρος* is mentioned, apparently as the bearer of the letter. Early first century A.D. Incomplete. 26 lines.

APPENDIX I

Addenda and Corrigenda to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Part II
and *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri.*

For the literature connected with these volumes see the successive bibliographies of papyri by Wilcken in the *Archiv*, and by de Ricci in the *Revue des études grecques*. After an examination of the articles in question and a comparison with the papyri, we give here a list of those suggestions which both affect our transcriptions of the texts and are satisfactory. Proposed alterations which are unsuitable, or are based upon alternatives mentioned in our notes, or in the case of literary texts are confined to the supplements of lacunae, are generally ignored. Where the source of the correction is not indicated, it is our own.

Part. II. **211**. 34. δ[ραμω]ν for α̣[. . . . .]ν (Weil) is possible.

214. Recto 7. The vestige of a letter before α[is too slight to afford any clue. The same remark applies to the two letters after μ̣ε in l. 15.

18. Possibly νο]υσον εχειν (Ludwich).

Verso 11. Possibly ο[ς π]ελα[γ]ο[ς (Platt), but it is not certain that a letter is lost after ελα, and the following vestiges suit ε better than ο. Perhaps π]ελαγε[ιζων (Bolling).

12. τ̣[. . .]ε̣[.] . ο̣ς̣: the doubtful τ may be π, but neither π[επι]σ[με]νος (Platt) nor π[επο]ι[θ]ως (Bolling) seem to suit.

13. μ̣ . . λο̣ν̣: the first letter is more like ν than μ.

14. l. ασ[τυ]φελικτος (Ludwich) at the end of the line.

215. i. 28. ω̣σ̣ιν should very likely be read in place of θ̣ο̣σ̣ιν, but there is not room for [αγα]θο[ν νο]ωσι (Fraccaroli).

216. i. 2. λην is a misprint for λης.

218. The position in Col. ii conjecturally assigned by us to Fr. (*c*) may be considered certain. Line 26 is ραν σ[υμφ]ερει[(or, as Crönert suggests, ε[πιφ]ερει), 27 υπερ τ̣[ης] ολης[, 28 Αρχελ̣[αο]ς και Ζην[οδοτος (cf. our note *ad loc.*), 29 perhaps [εν τοις] περι τ̣αφου (εν τοις Crönert). Fragment (*b*) probably joins Fr. (*a*) so that Fr. (*a*) i. 18 and Fr. (*b*) 1 form one line, i.e.]ζ̣ω̣ντα το⁻. Fr. (*e*) probably belongs to the bottom of Fr. (*a*) ii.

219. 11. λ̣ιθο[ις κι]σαι (i.e. κεισαι) (Platt) is possible.

17. For ε̣ρ̣ν̣ι̣ο̣[ν] τροφην Wilamowitz suggests ορνιθ[ο]τροφιν. θ in place of ο is possible, but the first letter is more like ε than ο. The η of τροφην is certain.

220. A newly-found fragment, apparently from the top of a column, contains the beginnings of two lines τυγχα[ν and μα· γ[. Cf. **221** *ad fin.*

x. 16. The penultimate letter before α̣να̣[is β or κ.

xi. 20. ε̣π̣[ι σ]τιχον (Leo) is possible, but δ]ε π[ω]ς for the preceding letters is unsuitable.

221. i. 1. l. ο̣τ̣ε̣ for τε (Ludwich).

2. τα βαρυτον[α (Ludwich) is not very suitable.

17. το]ν̣ before διαρρουν (Ludwich) is possible.

21. Possibly απο̣[φευγει (Ludwich), but the doubtful letter is more like η or ι.

ii. 3. l. νε]κ̣ροις (Allen).

9. l. τελευτα̣ν̣[(Wilamowitz).

iii. 2. The traces of a letter before σελαν suit ω or ι better than υ. The papyrus has διε̣λ̣[ο]ν, i.e. the first hand wrote διελον which was corrected to δεελον (Diels).

3. l. Τμαρες for γ Μαρες (Diels).

6. l. πλειο for ε̣πλειο (Diels).

23–4. l. κε κ' | [ησο ειλα]ν̣το (Ludwich).

25. [πτ]ωτην (Ludwich) is possible.

26–7. l. γεγ[ονε]ν̣α̣ι̣ (Ludwich).

iv. 18. The vestiges before α̣ι̣ are too faint to afford a clue.

vi. 11. φαιν]ηται ο γονος (Ludwich) is possible.

vii. 5. πα[ρ] Ανακ[ρεοντι (Platt, Ludwich) cannot be read, but ουτ̣ω̣ς δε κ̣α̣ι̣ Α̣νακ̣[ρεων is possible.

15. l. ταυ̣τ̣ην for ταξ̣ε̣ . . ν.

ix. 1. l. σαντας̣[. . .]ῡ̣α̣[. .]ν̣ασ̣[for σαν ται̣[. . .] . κ̣α̣[. .] . π̣ασ̣[.

9. δε περ[ησ]ης for δ επορ[ευθ]ης (Ludwich) is just possible, but the letter following π is more like ο than ε.

15. l. κρανα Μελ[ανο]ς for κραναν ελ[ικο]ς (Wilamowitz).

xii. 10. The vestiges on either side of υ̣ are too slight to give a clue.

26. πον might be read instead of των.

xiv. 25. η at the end of the line is extremely doubtful. There are more probably two letters.
26. στενουμεν[αι] γης (Ludwich) is possible.
xvi. 20–1. ε]|π̣ι̣ νεων (Ludwich) is possible, but the π is extremely doubtful.
xvii. 12. ε]ν αφη (Ludwich) is possible.
Fr. (*a*) 5. Αθην̣[οκλης (Crönert) is possible.

The beginnings of 12 lines are contained on a new fragment which the recto (cf. **220**) seems to show is from near the bottom of a column, while l. 9 υπ ασιος (cf. *Il.* xxi. 318–21) indicates that it belongs to the column lost before Col. xvi.

. . . .
[.] . . . .[
α̣ . ο̣σ . [.] . [
ο̣ν̣τ̣ω[
>
τ̣ον δεσ̣[
[π]εριον̣τ̣[
[. .]ε̣λαξ[
τ̣α ποταμ[
τοναπ̣τ̣[
υπ ασιος̣ [
μας εκ̣ τ̣[
αβαστα[
[.] π̣εντ̣[
. . .

222. 17. ου(τως) Κρατης (Diels) can be read.
230. 32. εη]τουμην is a misprint for εζη]τουμην.
232. 2. Insert η after εδικασθ[η.
237. iv. 8. l. ἐκλεγομένην (Gradenwitz).
17. l. τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ [ἀπ]οδεδωκέναι (Grad.).
21. l. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀσκλη[πιάδ]ου τῷ κδ (ἔτει) [ἀ]παιτοῦ[ν]τος (Grad.).
26. l. ὁ]μολογήμα̣τ̣α̣ γεγενῆσθαί μ[ε] (or μ[οι]) (Grad.).
30. l. τῆς δὲ μητ[ρῴας οὐσίας] (Grad.).
33. ἐπισταμένο[υ] (Grad.) is possible.
v. 7. {ου} is a mistake for ὅς (Grad.).
7–8. l. καταλάβῃς ἄξιον ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀνάπεμψον.
16. l. ἀν[απο]μπῆς ἄξιον (Blass).
34. l. διά before χρηματισμῶν (Grad.).
38. l. δύνασ{θ}αι (Grad.).
42. l. μὴ [ἀ]μεληθῆναι.
vi. 18. l. οὗτινος (Blass).
21. l. ἀπ' ἐμοῦ for ἁπλῶς.
24. l. ἐπὶ τ̣ῆ̣ς̣ μ[η]τρῴας οὐσίας βουληθείσῃ συνευδ. (Grad.).
25. l. ἀπαλλ[αττ . . . (Grad.).
31. l. τὸ . . . . π̣α̣σ̣θ̣α̣[ι] εἰ οὐκ ἐξόν.
vii. 22. l. ὑπὸ λοίπης (i.e. λύπης) for ὑπολοίπης (Wilamowitz).
23. l. ἠνυκέναι for ἠκουκέναι (Wilam.).
26–7. ἐνέγκαντος is a mistake for ἐνέγκαντα (Wilam.).
40. l. μετ' ἄλλα for μετάλλα (Grad.).
viii. 24–5. l. ταῖς γαμουμέν̣[αις] διὰ τ̣ὸ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ (Grad., G–H.).
27. l. ὑπὸ for τοῦ. ιγ (referring to Trajan's reign) can be read, as Stein suggested, for κγ, but cf. **712**. 7, where a Sulpicius Similis is mentioned certainly long after Trajan's time and perhaps in the reign of Commodus.

255. 16. l. [ἐ]ξ [ὑ]γιοῦς for [. . . .]τ̣ι̣ως.
265. 39. l. ὑδρ̣ε̣υμάτων.
269. ii. 2. l. [μ]ακρῷ for [Μ]άκρῳ (Wilam.).
270. 25. A line has dropped out of the text. l. καὶ ὠνημένης ἀρούραις ἐξ ἡμίσει ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατοι|κικῆς καὶ ὠνημένης εἰς κατοικίαν κ.τ.λ. (Goodspeed).
273. 5. l. κατὰ [Ῥω]μαίων ἔ[θ]η ὑπὸ κ.τ.λ.
8. The letters following ου might be read as του.
274. 22. l. ἐπικαταβολ(ῆς) for ἐπικατακολ(ουθοῦν) (Wessely).
24–5. [ἐμβαδεύ]σεως (Wessely) is possible.
277. 9–13. l. Διονυ|σίου ἢ τ[ῆ]ς γῆς [ὑπ]ολογείτωι αὐτου[. . .]κ . [.]ν . . . . . | ονκιωι ἥμισυ, [βεβα]ιούτωι δὲ Δι[ονύσιος τὴν μίσθωσιν] | πάσηι [β]εβαι[ώσει, βεβαιου]μένης δὲ α[ὐτῆς κομιζέτωσαν] | κοινῶς τὰ [γε]νήμα⟨τα⟩ ἐ[πὶ] τὰς περὶ Π[ᾶμιν ὑ]πα[ρχούσας] | ἄλωι (l. ἄλως) κ.τ.λ.
286. 19. l. ἀποδῶσειν (i.e. ἀποδῶσιν) for ἀποδώσειν (Wilam.).
287. 7. l. πάντα for πάντ(α).
289. 3. The abbreviation beginning with σ which recurs in this papyrus is probably σύ(μ)πα(ν); cf. **574**.
298. 42. γ̄ is a misprint for ν̄.

Fayûm Towns and their Papyri.

2. iii. 16. ὃ ελκων [τ]ρ[ι]χα for σε . . μν̣[. .] . [.] . α (Weil) is possible.
23. [στ]αθ for [.] . . αθ (Weil) is possible.
32. l. αιγδον for αιγδη[ν (Weil).
8. 10. [ε] is a misprint for [τε].
10. This fragment has been identified by Plasberg and Ferrini as coming from Ulpian, *Lib.* xlv. (*Dig.* xxix. 1. 1). 3. l. *proferri* for *professi*. 6. l. *er[ga* for *es[se*. 10. l. *milites f[estamenta*. 11. l. *facia[nt* for *enia[*.
11. 22. l. τ[ὸ] κ[αλ]ῶς ἔχον (Wilcken).
20. introd. p. 117. l. 5. ὕ]πατος (de Ricci) for]τατος is possible. The edict is assigned by Dessau to Julian instead of Severus Alexander.
6. ει τι (Wilamowitz) can be read in place of επι.
8. ειη before και ταυτα is corrected by Wilamowitz to ἔτι.
15. ἐξ ἁπάντω[ν κρατεῖν | χρημάτων (Wilamowitz) is better than our ἐξ ἁπάντω[ν | χρηματίζεσθαι.
23. introd. l. Ταμαύεω(ς) for Ταμαυσω( ) (Smyly); cf. the modern *Tamía*.
23 (*a*). 5–6. l. Καβασείτου . . . Μετηλίτ[ου].
27. 32. l. γνωρίζω for . τ̣ειριζω (Wessely).
42 (*a*). 15. l. γραμματ(ικοῦ) for γραμματ(έως); cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 28.
46. 3. l. π̣ρ̣ο̣ for . . γ( ).
48. 3. l. πρόγο(νος) 'stepson' (Wilcken).
50. 5. l. δρόμ(ου) for Δώμ(ατος) (Wilcken).
67–76. l. τετελ(ώνηται) for τετέλ(εσται) (Wilcken).
73. 1. l. ἀντεσυμβόλ(ησε) Παῆσις τελ(ωνησάμενος) (Wilcken). Similarly in 74. 1. l. ἀντεσυμβόλ(ησε).
96. l. A. D. 143 for A. D. 122.
110. 1. l. Βελλιῆνος (Wilamowitz).
15. l. ποτ[ισ]άτωσαν for λου[σ]άτωσαν (Wilamowitz).

112. 4. l. διβολήτ{ρ}ους; cf. P. Amh. II. 91. 11 note.
116. 3–4. l. φά|[γ]ρους for φά|ρους (Wilamowitz).
138. 1. κρείνεται = κρίνετε (Wilamowitz).
244 is probably written across the fibres of the recto, not on the verso.
284 is dated in the 10th year of Antoninus (A. D. 146).

APPENDIX II

A revised text of Part III, no. **405** (Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, iii. 9).

The seven fragments of an early Christian work published as **405** were identified by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson as belonging to the lost Greek original of Irenaeus' treatise *Contra Haereses*, which is extant only in a Latin translation, and when fitted together correspond to part of iii. 9. A provisional reconstruction was given by him in *Athenæum*, Oct. 24, 1903; cf. our note, *ibid.*, Nov. 7, and that of Dr. Rendel Harris, *ibid.*, Nov. 14. We now print a revised text of the whole. The chief interest of the discovery lies in the resulting correspondence between the readings of Irenaeus' quotation from Matt. iii. 16–7 in ll. 23–9 and those of the Codex Bezae. The Latin translation there has the ordinary reading *Hic est* (*filius meus*), whereas the original agrees with D in having (l. 28) σὺ ε[ἶ in place of οὗτός ἐστιν, and a variant peculiar to D (ὡς for ὡσεί before περιστέραν) occurs in l. 25 (Lat. *quasi*). 'These two unsuspected coincidences between Irenaeus and D, of which the one is misrepresented, the other inevitably obscured by the Latin translator, indicate that the extent of the agreement between Irenaeus' quotations and the text of the Codex Bezae is even larger than what the imperfect evidence of the Latin translation has led critics to suppose' (*Athen.*, Nov. 7).

Col. i.

. . . . . .
[. . . .] . [.] . . [. . . . . χρι
[στου] σ̣ου [ωμοσεν κς τ]ω̣ Δ̣[αυ
[ειδ α]ληθ[εια]ν κα[ι ο]υ μη αθε
[τ]η̣[σε]ι [α]υτον εκ κ[αρ]που της
5 κο̣ι̣λι̣ας σου θησ[ομ]αι επι θρο
[νου σου κα]ι π[αλιν]· γνωστος
[εν τη Ιουδαια ο θς κ]αι εγενη
[θη εν ειρηνη ο το]πος αυτου

Col. ii.

. . . . . .
[. . . . . λιβ]αν̣[ον δε οτι θς ο
[και γν]ωστος [εν τη Ιουδαια
20 [γεν]ομενος κ[αι εμφανης τοις
μη ζητουσιν [αυτον και επι
του βαπτ[ισμου φησι Ματθαι
> ος· ανεω[χθησαν οι ουρανοι
> και ειδεν τ[ο πνα του θυ κατα
25 > βαινον ως π[εριστεραν και

[και το κατοικητηρ]ιον αυτου
10 [εν Σιων εις ου]ν και ο αυ
[τος θς ο υπο των] προφη[τ]ω
[κηρυσσομενο]ς και υπο του
[ευαγγελιου .]ταγγελ[λ]ομε
[νος και ο υς εκ] παρθεν[ου]
15 [. . . . . .] ὁυ και το [ασ
[τρον Ησαιας μεν ου]τως [ε
[προφητευσεν ανατε]λ[ει

> ερχομενον ε[ις αυτον και
> ιδου φωνη εκ των ουρανων
> λεγουσα συ ε[ι ο υς μου ο αγα
> πητος [ε]ν ω [ευδοκησα ου
30 γαρ τοτε ο χς [κατεβη εις
τον Ιν ουδ α[λλος μεν ο χς
αλλος δε Ι[ς αλλα ο λογος του
θυ ο σωτ[ηρ παντων και κυ
ριευω[ν ουρανου και γης

13. επαγγελλομενος would be expected (*annuntiatus* Lat.), but the letter before αγγ is more like τ or γ than π.

14–5. The Latin has *et huius filius qui ex fructu ventris David, id est ex David virgine et Emmanuel, cuius et stellam* &c. The papyrus version is much shorter.

16. For Ησαιας instead of Βαλααμ cf. Rendel Harris, *Athen.*, Nov. 14.

31. The Latin has *in Iesum, neque alius quidem Christus.* The supposed ν of Ιν is more like η, but it is impossible to read Ιην, and for the omission of η in the earliest contractions of Ἰησοῦς cf. e. g. 1.

APPENDIX III

List of Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm Papyri distributed.

We give here a list of the papyri published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Parts I–III, and *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, which have been presented to different museums and libraries. Those papyri which do not appear have for various reasons not yet been distributed and are still at Queen's College, Oxford. Where ascertainable, we have added the present reference numbers in the catalogues of the several institutions to which the papyri now belong. The following abbreviations are employed:—

Am. = America. The papyri under this heading have only recently been sent to America, and details of the distribution are not yet forthcoming.
B. M. = British Museum. The numbers refer to the catalogue of papyri.
Belfast = Belfast Museum.
Bod. = Bodleian Library, Oxford. The references are to the hand-list of MSS.
Bolton = Chadwick Museum, Bolton, Lancs.
Bradfield = Library of Bradfield College, Berks.
Bristol = Bristol Museum.

Brussels = Musées Royaux, Brussels, Belgium.
Cairo = Museum of Antiquities, Cairo. The numbers are those of the inventory; cf. our Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum.
Camb. = Cambridge University Library. The numbers refer to the 'Additions.'
Chicago = Haskell Museum, University of Chicago, U.S.A. The papyri are all numbered 'Accession 33.'
Clifton = Library of Clifton College, Bristol.
Columbia = Library of Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.
Dublin = Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
Dundee = Library of University College, Dundee.
Edinburgh = Library of Edinburgh University.
Eton = Library of Eton College, Windsor.
Glasgow = Library of Glasgow University.
Graz = Library of Graz University, Austria.
Haileybury = Library of Haileybury College, Hertford.
Hamilton = Hamilton College, U.S.A.
Harrow = Library of Harrow School.
Harvard = Semitic Museum of Harvard University, Mass., U.S.A.
Holloway = Library of Holloway College, Egham.
Johns Hopkins = Library of Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, U.S.A.
Liverpool = Liverpool Free Public Museum.
Melbourne = Library of Melbourne University, Victoria.
Owen's Coll. = Museum of Owen's College, Manchester.
Pennsyl. = Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
Princeton = Library of Princeton University, N.J., U.S.A.
Repton = Library of Repton School, Burton-on-Trent.
Rugby = Library of Rugby School.
Smiths. = Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
St. Andrews = Library of St. Andrews University.
Toronto = Toronto University, Canada.
Vassar = Library of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, U.S.A.
Vict. = Museum of Victoria University, Toronto, Canada.
Winchester = Library of Winchester College.
Yale = Library of Yale University, U.S.A.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

1. Bod. Gr. th. *c.* 7 (P).
2. Pennsyl. 2746.
3. Chicago.
4. Camb. 4027.
5. Bod. Gr. th. *f.* 9 (P).
6. Camb. 4028.
7. B. M. 739.
8. Harvard 2211.
9. Dublin Pap. B. 1.
10. Yale.
11. B. M. 740.
12. Camb. 4029.
13. Columbia.
14. Edinburgh.
15. Glasgow.
16. Pennsyl. 2747.
17. Johns Hopkins.
18. B. M. 741.
19. Princeton 0132. 692. 19.
20. B. M. 742.
21. Chicago.
22. B. M. 743.
23. Camb. 4030.
24. Yale.
25. Johns Hopkins.
26. B. M. 744.
27. Chicago.
28. St. Andrews.
29. Pennsyl. 2748.
30. B. M. 745.
31. Camb. 4031.
32. Bod. Lat. class. *c.* 3 (P).
35. Pennsyl. 2749.
36. Bod. Gr. class. *d.* 60 (P).
37. B. M. 746.
38. Cairo 10002.
39. Cairo 10001.
40. Camb. 4032.
41. Cairo 10073.

42. B. M. 747.
43. B. M. 748.
44. B. M. 749.
45. Pennsyl. 2750.
46. Harvard 2212.
47. B. M. 750.
48. Harrow.
49. Dublin Pap. E. 1.
50. Dublin Pap. F. 1.
51. Edinburgh.
52. Glasgow.
53. B. M. 751.
54. Chicago.
55 (3 copies). Camb. 4033–5.
56. Camb. 4036.
57. Johns Hopkins.
58. B. M. 752.
59. B. M. 753.
60. Dublin Pap. D. 1.
61. Camb. 4037.
62. Bod. Gr. class. *d.* 61 (P).
63. Cairo 10007.
64. Princeton 0132. 692. 64.
65. Pennsyl. 2751.
66. Camb. 4038.
67 (2 copies). B. M. 754.
68. Owen's Coll.
69. Chicago.
70. Vassar.
71. B. M. 755.
72. Glasgow.
72 (*a*). Chicago.
73. Owen's Coll.
74. Hamilton.
75. Chicago.
76. Camb. 4039.
77. Dublin Pap. D. 2.
79. B. M. 756.
80. Winchester.
81. B. M. 757.
82. B. M. 758.
83. Rugby.
83 (*a*). Repton.
84. B. M. 759.
85. B. M. 760.
86. Camb. 4040.
88. Pennsyl. 2752.
89. Cairo 10008.
90. B. M. 761.
91. Holloway.
92. Harvard 2213.
93. B. M. 762.
94. B. M. 763.
95. Holloway.
96. Camb. 4041.
97. Edinburgh.
98. B. M. 764.
99. B. M. 765.
100. Edinburgh.
101. Chicago.
102. B. M. 766.
103. B. M. 767.
104. Camb. 4042.
105. Dublin Pap. C. 1.
106. Chicago.
107. Cairo 10006.
108. Pennsyl. 2753.
109. Harvard 2214.
110. Eton.
111. Clifton.
112. Harrow.
113. Cairo 10011.
114. Eton.
115. Yale.
116. Clifton.
117. Chicago.
118. Camb. 4043.
119. Bod. Gr. class. *f.* 66 (P).
120. Haileybury.
121. Chicago.
122. B. M. 768.
123. Cairo 10014.
124. Winchester.
125. Cairo 10062.
126. Cairo 10085.
127. Cairo 10084.
128. Cairo 10121.
129. Cairo 10082.
130. Cairo 10072.
131. Cairo 10063.
132. Cairo 10133.
133. Cairo 10056.
134. Cairo 10053.
135. Cairo 10018.
136. Cairo 10103.
137. Cairo 10034.
138. Cairo 10100.
139. Cairo 10049.
140. Cairo 10057.
141. Cairo 10096.
142. B. M. 769.
143. B. M. 770.
144. Cairo 10071.
145. Cairo 10066.
146. Cairo 10076.
147. Cairo 10074.
148. Cairo 10075.
149. Cairo 10045.
150. Cairo 10051.
151. Cairo 10094.
152. Cairo 10048.
153. Cairo 10044.
154. Cairo 10102.
155. Cairo 10020.
156. Cairo 10035.
157. Cairo 10042.
158. Cairo 10043.
159–63. Chicago.
164. B. M. 771.
165. Camb. 4044.
166. Bod. Gr. class. *c.* 47 (P).
167. Bod. Gr. class. *f.* 67 (P).
168. Pennsyl. 2754.
169. Vassar.
170. Harvard 2215.
171. Camb. 4045.
172. Melbourne Pap. 1.
173. St. Andrews.
174. Johns Hopkins.
175. Bristol.
176. Brussels.
177. Bod. Gr. class. *d.* 62 (P).
178. Hamilton.
179. B. M. 772.
180. Harvard 2216.
181. Pennsyl. 2755.
182. Bod. Gr. class. *f.* 68 (P).
183. Dublin Pap. F. 2.
184. Dublin Pap. E. 2.
185. Glasgow.
186. Bod. Gr. class. *f.* 69 (P).
187. Melbourne Pap. 2.
188. Bod. Gr. class. *d.* 63 (P).
189. B. M. 773.
192. Camb. 4046.
193. B. M. 774.
194. Pennsyl. 2756.
195. B. M. 775.
197. B. M. 776.
198. B. M. 777.
199. B. M. 778.
200. Harvard 2217.
201. B. M. 779.
202. Camb. 4047.
204. Edinburgh.
205. B. M. 780.
206. Yale.
207. B. M. 781.
208. B. M. 782.
209. Harvard 2218.
210. Camb. 4048.
211. Am.
212. B. M. 1180.
213. Am.
214. B. M. 1181.
215. B. M. 1182.
216. Yale.
217. Camb. 4049.
218. B. M. 1183.
219. Am.
220–1. B. M. 1184.
222. B. M. 1185.
223. Bod. Gr. class. *a.* 8 (P).
224. B. M. 783.
225. B. M. 784.
226. Columbia.
227. B. M. 785.
228. Bod. Gr. class. *d.* 64 (P).
229. B. M. 786.
230. Johns Hopkins.
231. Camb. 4050.
232. B. M. 787.
233. Pennsyl. 2757.
234. St. Andrews.
235. Camb. 4051.

236. B. M. 788.
237. Bod. Gr. class. *a*. 8 (P).
238. Dublin Pap. E. 3.
239. Pennsyl. 2758.
240. B. M. 789.
241. Princeton 0132. 692. 241.
242. Graz.
243. B. M. 790.
244. B. M. 791.
245. Pennsyl. 2759.
246. Camb. 4052.
247. Glasgow.
248. Camb. 4053.
249. Yale.
250. Am.
251. B. M. 1186.
252. Liverpool.
253. Graz.
254–7. Am.
258. Brussels.
259. Am.
260. Dublin Pap. D. 3.
261. B. M. 792.
262. Columbia.
263. Melbourne Pap. 3.
264. Camb. 4054.
265. Vict.
266. B. M. 1187.
267. Am.
269. Pennsyl. 2760.
270. B. M. 793.
272. Am.
273. Brussels.
274. Am.
275. B. M. 794.
276. Am.
277. B. M. 1188.
278. B. M. 795.
279. Camb. 4055.
280. Camb. 4056.
281. Holloway.
282. Yale.
283. Bristol.
284. Harvard 2219.
285. B. M. 796.
286. B. M. 797.
287. Am.
288. B. M. 798.
289. B. M. 799.
290. Pennsyl. 2761.
291. B. M. 800.
292. Camb. 4057.
293–5. Am.
296. Johns Hopkins.
297–8. Am.
299. Bradfield.
300. Bradfield.
301. B. M. 801.
302. Bod. Gr. class. *g*. 47 (P).
303. Bod. Gr. class. *g*. 48 (P).
304. Camb. 4058.
305. Bod. Gr. class. *c*. 48 (P).
306. Cairo 10003.
307. Cairo 10012.
308. Dublin Pap. B. 2.
309. Edinburgh.
310. Glasgow.
311. St. Andrews.
312. Owen's Coll.
313. Camb. 4059.
314. Harvard 2220.
315. Bod. Gr. class. *d*. 65 (P).
316. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 78 (P).
317. Columbia.
318. B. M. 802.
319. Johns Hopkins.
320. Princeton 0132. 692. 320.
321. Bod. Gr. class. *d*. 66 (P).
322. Bod. Gr. class. *c*. 49 (P).
323. Pennsyl. 2762.
324. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 80 (P).
325. Bod. Gr. class. *d*. 67 (P).
326. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 79 (P).
327. Pennsyl. 2763.
328. Harvard 2221.
329. Yale.
330. Columbia.
331. Johns Hopkins.
332. Princeton 0132. 692. 332.
333. Princeton 0132. 692. 333.
334. Johns Hopkins.
335. Camb. 4060.
336. Dublin Pap. F. 3.
337. Edinburgh.
338. Glasgow.
339. B. M. 803.
340. St. Andrews.
341. Owen's Coll.
342. Camb. 4061.
343. Dublin Pap. E. 4.
344. Pennsyl. 2764.
345. Columbia.
346. Melbourne Pap. 4.
347. Camb. 4062.
348. Pennsyl. 2765.
349. Pennsyl. 2766.
350. Camb. 4063.
351. Yale.
352. Columbia.
353. Johns Hopkins.
354. B. M. 804.
355. Camb. 4064.
356. Dublin Pap. E. 5.
357. Princeton 0132. 692. 357.
358. Columbia.
359. Glasgow.
360. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 81 (P).
361. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 82 (P).
362. Harvard 2222.
363. Camb. 4065.
364. Dublin Pap. F. 4.
365. Dublin Pap. E. 6.
366. Dublin Pap. E. 7.
367. B. M. 805.
368. Graz.
369. Hamilton.
370. B. M. 806.
371. Brussels.
372. Vict.
373. Bod. Gr. class. *f*. 70 (P).
374. B. M. 807.
375. Camb. 4066.
376. Edinburgh.
377. B. M. 808.
378. B. M. 809.
379. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 83 (P).
380. Camb. 4067.
381. B. M. 810.
382. B. M. 811.
383. Camb. 4068.
384. B. M. 812.
385. Dublin Pap. F. 5.
386. Bod. Gr. class. *f*. 71 (P).
387. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 84 (P).
388. Dublin Pap. F. 6.
389. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 85 (P).
390. Bod. Gr. class. *d*. 68 (P).
391. B. M. 813.
392. Am.
393. Yale.
394. Camb. 4069.
395. Am.
396. B. M. 814.
397. Bod. Gr. class. *d*. 69 (P).
398. Bod. Gr. class. *c*. 50 (P).
399. Columbia.
400. Bod. Gr. class. *d*. 70 (P).
401–2. Am.
407. B. M. 1189.
445. B. M. 1190.
446–8. Am.
449. Brussels.
450. Graz.
451. Vict.
452–3. Am.
454. Bod. Gr. class. *c*. 54 (P).
455–6. Am.
457. Vict.
458–62. Am.

463. Bod. Gr. class. *a*. 7 (P).
469. Am.
476. Am.
479–80. Am.
482. Am.
484. Brussels.
487. Am.
499. Vict.
502–3. Am.
505. Am.
508. Am.
510. Am.
512. Am.
516–8. Am.
522–3. Am.
526–7. Am.
529. Am.
531–2. Am.
534–41. Am.
542. Owen's Coll.
543–9. Am.
550. B. M. 1191.
551–3. Am.
554. Graz.
555–7. Am.
558. Belfast.
559. Am.
560. Vict.
561–72. Am.
573. Brussels.
575. Am.
576. Brussels.
577–8. Am.
580. Am.
581. Dundee.
582–8. Am.
589. Graz.
590–8. Am.
603. Graz.
604. Bolton.
605–7. Am.
608. Vict.
609–10. Am.
612–3. Am.
614. Owen's Coll.
615–33. Am.
634. Bod. Gr. class. *d*. 73 (P).
635. Bod. Gr. class. *e*. 86 (P).
636. Graz.
637. Vict.
633–43. Am.
644. Graz.
645. Am.
647. Graz.
648–50. Am.
651. Belfast.
652. Am.

Fayûm Papyri.

1. Camb. 4070.
2. B. M. 1192.
3. B. M. 815.
4. B. M. 816.
5. Dr. W. C. Winslow.
6. Cairo 10764.
7. B. M. 817.
8. Toronto.
9. Am.
10. Bod. Lat. class. *g*. 5 (P).
11. Cairo 10765.
12. B. M. 818.
13. Smiths. 217860.
14. Am.
15. Graz.
16. B. M. 819.
17. Bod. Gr. class. *c*. 52 (P).
18. B. M. 1193.
18 (*a*). B. M. 1194.
18 (*b*). Brussels.
19–20. Am.
21. Cairo 10766.
22–3. Am.
23 (*a*). Bod. Gr. class. *c*. 53 (P).
24. Cairo 10869.
25. Yale.
26. Cairo 10767.
27. Brussels.
28. Vassar.
29. Pennsyl. 2767.
30–1. Toronto.
32. Princeton 0132. 340. 32.
33. Johns Hopkins.
34. Cairo 10768.
35. Cairo 10769.
36. Cairo 10770.
37. Cairo 10235.
38. B. M. 820.
39. Cairo 10771.
40. Brussels.
41. Smiths. 217853.
42. Columbia.
42 (*a*). B. M. 1195.
43. B. M. 821.
44. B. M. 822.
45. B. M. 823.
46. Owen's Coll.
47. Cairo 10772.
47 (*a*). Cairo 10773.
48. Cairo 10774.
49. Cairo 10775.
50. Cairo 10776.
51. Cairo 10777.
52. Cairo 10778.
52 (*a*). Cairo 10779.
53. Am.
54. Cairo 10780.
55. Vict.
56. Cairo 10781.
57. Cairo 10225.
58–60. Am.
61. Cairo 10782.
62. Cairo 10221.
63–5. Am.
66. Cairo 10231.
67. Vict.
68. B. M. 824 (*a*).
69. Cairo 10239.
70. Cairo 10240.
71. Pennsyl. 2768.
72. Graz.
73. Cairo 10236.
74. Cairo 10237.
75. Johns Hopkins.
76. Princeton 0132. 340. 76.
76 (*a*). B. M. 824 (*b*).
77. Am.
78. Smiths. 217856.
79. Cairo 10241.
80–1. Am.
82. Cairo 10783.
83. Cairo 10784.
84. Cairo 10224.
85. Cairo 10785.
86, 86 (*a*). Am.
87. B. M. 825.
88. Pennsyl. 2769.
89. B. M. 826.
90. Cairo 10786.
91. Cairo 10787.
92. Harvard 2223.
93. Brussels.
94. Am.
95. Cairo 10788.
96. Cairo 10789.
97. Cairo 10790.
98. Cairo 10791.
99. Cairo 10792.
100. Cairo 10793.
101. Smiths. 217851.
102. Cairo 10794.
103. Am.
104. Cairo 10795.
105. B. M. 1196.
106. Am.
107. Cairo 10796.
108. Cairo 10797.
109. Cairo 10798.
110. Am.
111. Vict.

112. Smiths. 217852.
113. Am.
114. Cairo 10799.
115. Am.
116. Graz.
117. Am.
118. Bristol.
119–20. Am.
121. Cairo 10800.
122. Cairo 10801.
123. Cairo 10802.
124. Cairo 10803.
125. Cairo 10804.
126. Cairo 10805.
127. Cairo 10243.
128. Cairo 10806.
129. Cairo 10807.
130. Cairo 10808.
131. Cairo 10809.
132. Rugby.
133. Cairo 10795.
134. Cairo 10810.
135. Columbia.
136. Cairo 10811.
137–8. Am.
139. Cairo 10812.
140. B. M.
141. Cairo 10217.
142. Cairo 10247.
143. Cairo 10242.
144. Cairo 10219.
145. Am.
146. Bolton.
147–50. Am.
151. B. M. 827.
152. Cairo 10220.
153. Graz.
154. Am.
155. Vict.
156. Am.
157. Harvard 2224.
158–9. Am.
160. Cairo 10218.
161. Cairo 10234.
162. Cairo 10232.
163. Cairo 10233.
164. Columbia.
165. Johns Hopkins.
166. Princeton 0132. 340. 166.
167. B. M. 828 (*a*).
168. Harvard 2225.
169. B. M. 828 (*b*).
170. Toronto.
171. Glasgow.
172. B. M. 828 (*c*).
173. B. M. 828 (*d*).
174. Pennsyl. 2770.
175. Edinburgh.
176. Vassar.
177. Camb. 4071.
178. Camb. 4072.
179. B. M. 828 (*e*).
180. Yale.
181. B. M. 828 (*f*).
182. Owen's Coll.
183. Hamilton.
184. B. M. 828 (*g*).
185. B. M. 828 (*h*).
186. Melbourne Pap. 6.
187. B. M. 828 (*i*).
188. B. M. 828 (*k*).
189. St. Andrews.
190–5. Am.
196. Pennsyl. 2771.
197. Harvard 2226.
198. Cairo 10230.
199. Cairo 10227.
200. Cairo 10228.
201. Cairo 10245.
202. Cairo 10246.
203. Cairo 10226.
204. Cairo 10244.
205. Cairo 10222.
206. Cairo 10223.
207. Cairo 10229.
208. Brussels.
209. Cairo 10813.
210. Cairo 10814.
211. Yale.
212. Cairo 10815.
213. Cairo 10816.
214. Columbia.
215. Cairo 10817.
216. Princeton 0132. 340. 216.
217. Brussels.
218–9. Am.
220. Cairo 10818.
221. Cairo 10819.
222. Am.
223. Cairo 10820.
224. Cairo 10821.
225. Am.
226. Smiths. 217859.
227. Am.
228. Brussels.
229. Graz.
230. Am.
231. Cairo 10822.
232. B. M. 829.
233. B. M. 830.
234. B. M. 831.
235. B. M. 832.
236. B. M. 833.
237. Cairo 10823.
238. Cairo 10824.
239. Am.
240. Cairo 10825.
241. Am.
242. Cairo 10826.
243. Am.
244. Cairo 10827.
245–7. Am.
248. Liverpool.
249. Brussels.
250–1. Am.
252. Vict.
253. Am.
254. B. M. 1197.
255–8. Am.
259. B. M. 1198.
260. Graz.
261. Am.
262. Brussels.
263. Am.
264. Graz.
265. Am.
266. Vict.
267–8. Am.
269. Brussels.
270. Graz.
271–7. Am.
278. Cairo 10828.
279. Cairo 10829.
280. Cairo 10830.
281. Cairo 10831.
282. Cairo 10832.
283. Cairo 10833.
284. Cairo 10834.
285. B. M. 1199.
286. Cairo 10835.
287. Cairo 10836.
288. Cairo 10837.
289. Cairo 10838.
290. Cairo 10839.
291–3. Am.
294. Cairo 10840.
295. Smiths. 217855.
296. Am.
297. Brussels.
298. Smiths. 217857.
299. Am.
300. Cairo 10841.
301. Cairo 10842.
302. Cairo 10843.
303. Cairo 10844.
304. Am.
305. Cairo 10845.
306. Am.
307. Vict.
308. B. M. 834.
309. Cairo 10846.
310. Pennsyl. 2772.
311. Cairo 10847.
312. Cairo 10848.
313. Bod. Gr. class. *d.* 71 (P).
314–7. Am.
318. Cairo 10849.
319. Cairo 10850.
320–1. Am.
322. Graz.
323. Cairo 10851.
324. Bod. Gr. class. *c.* 51 (P).
325. Bod. Gr. class. *d.* 72 (P).
326. Cairo 10852.
327. Cairo 10853.
328. Cairo 10854.
329. Brussels.
330. Cairo 10855.
331. Am.
332. Cairo 10856.
333. Am.
334. Cairo 10857.
335. Am.
336. Smiths. 217854.

337. Cairo 10858.
338. Am.
339. Cairo 10859.
340. Cairo 10860.
341. Graz.
342. Cairo 10861.
343. Am.
344. Cairo 10862.
345. Cairo 10863.
346. Cairo 10864.
347–8. Am.
349. Pennsyl. 2773.
350. Harvard 2227.
351. Yale.
352. Columbia.
353. Johns Hopkins.
354. Princeton 0132. 340. 354.
355. Hamilton.
356. Princeton 0132. 340. 356.
357. Columbia.
358. Johns Hopkins.
359. Pennsyl. 2774.
360. Harvard 2228.
361. Yale.
362. Harvard 2229.
363. Johns Hopkins.
364. Princeton 0132. 340. 364.
365. Columbia.
366. Yale.

INDICES

I. NEW LITERARY FRAGMENTS[1].

(a) *Greek.*

ἀβάστακτος p. 262.
ἀγαθός **664**. 19; **666**. 115; **670**. 12.
Ἀγασικλῆς **659**. 50.
ἄγειν **663**. 35.
ἀγλαΐζεσθαι **659**. 93.
ἀγλαός **659**. 27; **674**. 7.
Ἀγνόθεος **664**. 33, 45.
ἄγρα **662**. 53.
ἀγρευτήρ **662**. 46 (?).
ἄγριος **661**. 3 (?).
Ἀδείμαντος **664**. 105.
ἀεί **667**. 8; **670**. 4.
ἀέξειν **662**. 47.
ἀθάνατος **659**. 14, 24.
Ἀθηνᾶ **663**. 15.
Ἀθήναζε **664**. 15.
Ἀθηναῖος **663**. 48; **664**. 3; **680**. 6; **682**. 16.
ἀθρεῖν **671**. 16.
ἄϊγδον p. 263.
αἰγλήεις **671**. 3.
ἀΐειν **660**. 8.
Αἰολάδας **659**. 12, 29.
αἱρεῖν **665**. 22; **681**. 7.
αἰσχρός, αἴσχιστος **666**. 119.
αἰσχύνειν **655**. 23; **666**. 48.
αἰψηρός **659**. 37.
ἀκατάσχετος **684**. 19.
ἄκατος **683**. 15.
ἀκίνητος **663**. 15.
ἀκμή **684**. 13.
ἀκμής **662**. 51.
ἀκούειν **663**. 23.
Ἀκραγαντῖνοι **665**. 12, 16, 20, 23.
ἀκρόπολις **662**. 40 (?).
Ἀκρωρίτης **662**. 42, 50.
ἀκώλυτος **684**. 21.
Ἀλεξάνδρεια **675**. 4.
Ἀλέξανδρος **663**. 29, 34; **679**. 3.
ἀλήθεια **654**. 38.
ἀληθής **664**. 92, 103.
ἅλιος **660**. 10.
ἀλλά **659**. 26, 68; **662**. 27; **671**. 17; **679**. 7.
ἄλλος **664**. 23, 28, 95; **670**. 1; **681**. 6.
ἁλμυρός **659**. 81.
ἄλοχος **662**. 49.
ἅλς **661**. 26.
ἀλυκτοπέδαι **670**. 5 (?).
ἁμαρτία **664**. 98.
ἄμμορος **660**. 2.
ἀμπυρίζειν **661**. 17.
Ἀμύνταν **662**. 21, 32.
ἀμφί **659**. 53, 59.
ἀμφιβαίνειν **670**. 7.
ἀμφικτίονες **659**. 55.
ἄν **654**. 4; **659**. 11; **662**. 34 (?); **663**. 43; **664**. 93; **666**. 162; **670**. 1; **671**. 1.
ἀνάγκη **659**. 18.
ἀναερτᾶν **662**. 53.
ἀναζεῖν **684**. 16.
ἀναπαύεσθαι **654**. 8.
ἀνάρσιος **660**. 2.
ἀναστρέφειν **680**. 8.
ἄνευ **666**. 153 (?).
ἀνήρ **659**. 8, 48, 66; **662**. 29; **664**. 99; **682**. 16.
ἄνθος **662**. 22.
ἄνθρωπος **654**. 22; **664**. 101.
ἀνιαρός **659**. 19.
ἀνίκητος **662**. 35.
ἀνοιγνύναι **655**. 46.
ἀντιάζειν **672**. 7.
Ἀντίπατρος **662**. 48.
ἀντρηῖς **662**. 49.
ἀνώτερον **667**. 28.
ἄξιος **662**. 112, 116 (?).
ἀξίωμα **684**. 7.
ἀοιδή **659**. 35, 49; **660**. 23 (?).
ἅπας **666**. 162.
ἀπείρατος **660**. 1.
ἀπό **654**. 29; **655**. 1, 2; **660**. 6.
ἀποδημεῖν **664**. 2.
ἀποδημία **664**. 8, 80.
ἀποκαλύπτειν **654**. 29.
ἀποκνεῖν **654**. 22.
ἀποκρύπτειν **654**. 39.
Ἀπόλλων **674**. 8 (?).
ἀποστέλλειν **663**. 41; **679**. 3, 17.
ἀποφεύγειν **682**. 14.
ἀπροφασίστως **666**. 168.

[1] Excluding **658** and **669**, which are classed with the non-literary documents.

ἄπωθε 661. 15.
ἄρα 660. 15; 670. 8, 17.
ἀρά 678. 6 (?).
ἀργαλέος 662. 25.
ἀρετή 659. 9.
Ἄρης 662. 34.
ἄριος (?) 661. 3.
Ἀρίφρων 664. 102.
ἀρρηφορεῖν 664. 32.
ἄρχειν 664. 94, 95, 96.
Ἀρχέλαος p. 261.
ἀρχή 664. 2, 113, 117.
ἄσις p. 262.
ἄσκεπος 662. 37.
ἀστυφέλικτος 670. 9; p. 261.
ἄτε 684. 17.
ἄτεκνος 662. 30.
ἀτρεκές 671. 3.
ἄτρεστος 662. 33.
Ἀττική 680. 5.
ἀτυχία 666. 63.
αὖθι 661. 26.
αὖθις (αὖτις) 661. 23.
αὐλίσκος 659. 34.
αὐξάνειν 655. 9.
αὔξειν 659. 129.
αὐτίκα 660. 12.
αὐτοκράτωρ 684. 18.
αὐτόματος 670. 3.
αὐτός 654. 32; 655. 15, 17, 18; 662. 51, 52; 663. 4, 13, 18, 44; 664. 5 *et saep.*; 666. 50 (?), 117; 670. 2; 680. 7; 681. 2; 682. 11.
αὐχμαλέος 662. 22.
Ἀφροδίτη 663. 17.
Ἀχαιός 662. 35; 663. 24, 37.

βαδίζειν 664. 44.
βαίνειν 659. 74.
Βακχιάδαι 664. 115.
βαρύς 667. 21.
βασιλεία 654. 11, 15; 679. 42.
βασιλεύειν 654. 8.
βασιλεύς 671. 4, 14 (?), 21; 684. 7, 12, 17.
βίαιος 659. 17.
βυήθεια 665. 4.
βουλ[664. 132.
βούλεσθαι 664. 104; 684. 3.
Βορέας 659. 38.
βρίθειν 660. 4.
βροτός 659. 7, 14; 660. 21 (?).
βύρσα 662. 45.

γάρ 659. 20, 23, 71; 664. 23, 44, 83, 99; 666. 51, 156; 667. 23; 670. 18; 684. 13, 17.
γε 661. 23; 662. 30.
γείτων 677. 2.
Γέλα 665. 3.
Γελῷοι 665. 5, 16.
γένος 659. 13.
γεύεσθαι 654. 5.
γῆ 654. 13; 660. 14.
γίγνεσθαι 659. 20; 662. 27, 30; 665. 14; 666. 164; 667. 27; 681. 8; 682. 9; 684. 12; p. 261.
γιγνώσκειν 654. 17, 18, 20.
Γλαύκων 665. 10.
Γλῆνις 662. 43, 47, 53.
γλίσχρος 678. 7.
γλυκ[673. 3.
γλυκερός 670. 25.
γλῶσσα 659. 47.
γνάμπτειν 660. 8.
γνώριμος 667. 27.
γονεύς 659. 52; 662. 26.
γοῦν 664. 87.
γυνή 659. 48; 662. 24; 663. 39; 664. 58.

δαιδάλλειν 659. 44.
Δαισιστρότα 659. 75.
δάκρυ 662. 22.
δαμάζειν 659. 18.
Δάμαινα 659. 70.
δαπάνη 664. 28.
δάφνη 659. 28, 73.
Δε[671. 2.
δεικνύναι 662. 54; 679. 43.
δεῖν 666. 61. τὰ δέοντα 666. 59.
Δελφοί 674. 4.
δέρκεσθαι 662. 40.
δέρμα 662. 52.
δέσις 679. 15 (?).
δηθύνειν 671. 21.
δῆρις 662. 34; 670. 23.
δημοκρατία 682. 1, 15 (?).
διά 663. 46; 664. 13, 23, 36, 107; 666. 115; 667. 5.
διαβάλλειν 664. 29.
διάζευξις 667. 8.
διαλέγεσθαι 663. 9.
διαμερίζειν 679. 11.
διατρίβειν 664. 10.
διαφέρειν 664. 21.
διάφορος 684. 8.
διδάσκειν 672. 6.
διδόναι 655. 15; 659. 68; 662. 29; 675. 15.
δικαστήριον 682. 13.
δίκη 659. 68.
δίκτυον 661. 7.
διό 666. 61.
Διονυσι[683. 9.
Διονυσαλέξανδρος 663. 26.
Διόνυσος 663. 11, 40; 670. 22.
δίχα 672. 9.
διψῆν 659. 81.
δοκεῖν 664. 39, 97; 679. 16.
δόμος 662. 31.
δόρυ 660. 3; 662. 35.
δρᾶμα 663. 45.
δρυμονόμος 662. 56 (?).
δύναμις 666. 165.
δύνασθαι 667. 16; 678. 6 (?).
δυνατός 664. 6.
δώδεκα 677. 9.
δῶρον 662. 43.

ἐάν 666. 105; 678. 1.
ἑαυτοῦ 654. 18, 20; 663. 31.
ἐγείρειν 670. 23.
ἐγκεῖσθαι 659. 48.
ἐγχειρίζειν 666. 160.
ἔγχος 670. 20.
ἐγώ 659. 45, 49, 70; 661. 7, 20, 24; 662. 28; 664. 6 *et saep.*; 670. 23.
εἰ 664. 92.
εἰδέναι 659. 45; 670. 17.
εἰκότως 684. 13.
εἶναι 654. 13 *et saep.*; 655.

8, 20, 28; 659. 15; 660. 2, 9; 662. 24; 664. 5, 41, 44, 92; 666. 112, 117, 170; 667. 19, 23; 670. 11; 674. 3 (?); 678. 2; 684. 2, 11, 13, 17, 19.
εἰς 663. 20, 23, 30, 31; 664. 40; 666. 163; 672. 9; 679. 18, 41; 680. 9; 683. 6. ἐς 659. 51; 662. 29.
εἷς 655. 11; 662. 30; 634. 2.
εἰσαγγελία 682. 8.
εἰσέρχεσθαι 655. 44, 45.
εἴτε 667. 3, 4, 5, 7.
ἐκ 661. 28; 662. 24, 26, 36; 676. 12; 677. 2.
ἕκαστος 682. 4.
ἑκάτερος 663. 35.
ἐκδιδάσκειν 672. 8.
ἐκδύεσθαι 655. 22.
ἐκεῖνος 661. 20; 664. 77.
ἐκθρώσκειν 662. 39.
Ἑλένη 663. 21, 38.
ἕλκειν 654. 10.
Ἑλληνικός 679. 1.
ἐμός 659. 80; 661. 21; 671. 17.
ἔμπροσθεν 654. 27.
ἐμφανής 655. 19.
ἔμφασις 663. 47.
ἐν 654. 11; 659. 27, 58, 61; 663. 45; 664. 9, 29, 44, 97; 665. 1; 667. 2, 4, 15, 28; 675. 16; 679. 2; 680. 10; 682. 3, 12; 683. 12.
ἐναρμόνιος 667. 1.
ἐνδύεσθαι 655. 6.
ἔνδυμα 655. 11, 16.
ἕνεκεν 659. 66.
ἐνεργέστερος 684. 5.
ἐνιέναι 659. 65.
ἐνταῦθα 664. 16.
ἐντεῦθεν 664. 8.
ἐντός 654. 16.
ἐξ 661. 26.
ἐξάγειν 663. 22.
ἐξαυτῆς 667. 14.
ἐξέρχεσθαι 680. 4.
ἐξετάζειν 654. 32.
ἐξῆς 667. 5.
ἕξις 664. 131 (?).
ἐξουσία 666. 159; 684. 18.
ἐοικέναι 664. 91.
ἐπάγειν 663. 47.
ἐπανέρχεσθαι 663. 22; 664. 15.
ἐπασκεῖν 659. 75.
ἐπειδή 664. 2.
ἔπειτα 659. 65; 667. 2.
ἐπέραστος 663. 18.
ἐπερωτᾶν 654. 23.
ἕπεσθαι 659. 71.
ἐπί 655. 14; 659. 8, 12, 57; 661. 20; 663. 35; 665. 12; 667. 20, 22.
ἐπιβουλεύειν 664. 4.
ἐπιδιδόναι 664. 25.
ἐπικατέχειν 663. 39.
ἐπιμέλεια 679. 6.
ἐπιμιγνύναι 659. 25.
ἐπισκώπτειν 663. 11.
ἐπισπέρχειν 659. 38.
ἐπιτρίβειν 680. 13.
ἐπίτροπος 664. 42.
ἔπος 659. 44.
ἑπταέτις 662. 30.
ἑπτάπυλος 659. 64.
ἑῳδή 661. 21.
ἐρᾶν 664. 32.
ἐρατός 660. 14.
ἔργον 684. 2.
ἐρείπειν 662. 36.
ἔρις 659. 67.
Ἑρμῆς 663. 5.
ἔρχεσθαι 659. 51; 661. 23, 25 (ἔνθης, ἦνθε); 662. 29.
ἐς 659. 51; 662. 29.
ἐσθίειν 655. 4.
ἐσλός 659. 52.
ἑσπέρα 655. 2.
ἑστία 659. 92.
ἔσχατος 654. 26.
ἔτι 662. 30.
ἕτερος 664. 95; 684. 11.
εὐίερος 675. 14.
εὐκλεής 659. 59.
εὐνᾶν 684. 9.
εὐπέταλος 659. 73.
εὑρίσκειν 654. 7, 17; 664. 162.
εὐτυχία 659. 13; 663. 16.
εὔφρων 659. 71.
εὔχεσθαι 659. 11.
ἔχειν 655. 11; 659. 9; 663. 39; 664. 100; 670. 20; 671. 15; 684. 4.
ἐχθρός 659. 67; 676. 15.
ἕως 655. 1; 670. 9 (?).

ζευγνύναι 659. 79.
Ζεύς 659. 45; 664. 103.
Ζέφυρος 659. 36.
ζῆν 654. 2.
Ζηνόδοτος p. 261.
ζητεῖν 654. 6; 663. 2 (?) 666. 165.
ζώειν 659. 19.
ζωννύναι 659. 26.

ἦ 663. 27.
ἤ 660. 5; 664. 1, 94; 667. 1, 17, 18; 684. 5 (?), 7.
ἦ 662. 30.
ἡγεῖσθαι 659. 71.
ἡγεμών 662. 50.
ἠδέ 662. 49.
ἤδη 664. 7, 19.
ἡδονή 664. 44.
ἠίθεος 660. 4.
ἠϊών 659. 58; 673. 7.
ἥκειν 664. 12.
ἡλικία 655. 14; 662. 29.
ἡλικιώτης 664. 22.
ἡμεῖς 654. 10; 655. 19.
ἡμέρα 659. 15.
ἡμέτερος 670. 19, 24.
ἡμί 661. 24.
ἡσυχία 679. 8.

θάλασσα 654. 14; 661. 28.
θαλάσσιος 684. 14.
θάλλειν 659. 31.
θάλος 659. 48.
θαμβεῖν 654. 7.
θάπτειν 654. 31.
θεά 673. 9.
θεατής 663. 7.
θεῖος 659. 3.

θέμεθλα 674. 5.
Θεόκριτος 662. 28.
θεός 677. 9.
θεράπων 673. 1 (?).
θεσπέσιος 660. 6; 671. 10.
θεωρεῖν 666. 63.
Θῆβαι 659. 25.
θήρ 672. 8.
θηρίον 661. 11.
θνήσκειν 662. 25, 27.
θνητός 659. 15.
Θρασύβουλος 664. 17, 35.
θυγάτηρ 659. 72; 664. 31.
θῦμα 675. 15.
θυμός 684. 17.
Θωμᾶς 654. 3.

Ἴδη 663. 23.
ἴδιος 674. 7.
ἰεπαιάν or ἰεπαιήων 660. 2 *et saep.*
ἱεραπόλος 659. 6.
ἱερός 661. 16; 674. 6 (ἰαρός); 675. 3.
Ἰησοῦς 654. 2 *et saep.*
ἱμείρειν 671. 22.
Ἱμεραῖοι 665. 15.
ἱππεύς 679. 20.
ἱππόβοτος 673. 4.
ἵππος 659. 56.
ἱπποτροφία 664. 27.
ἱστορία 683. 13.
Ἰτωνία 659. 59.
ἴφθιμος 662. 54.
ἰχθύς 654. 14.
Ἰωνία 664. 9.

καθάπερ 667. 26.
καθήκειν 681. 13.
καθιστάναι 679. 10.
κακός 678. 4.
Κάκυρον 665. 2.
καλεῖν 664. 114; 681. 15.
Καλλιτέλης 662. 27, 31.
καλός 662. 53. καλὸς κἀγαθός 664. 19. κάλλιστος 663. 17.
κάματος 659. 19.
καπνός 662. 39.
κάπρος 662. 51.
κάρα 659. 10, 32.
κατά 663. 16; 664. 101.
καταγρᾶν 661. 27 (?).
καταλαμβάνειν 664. 18.
καταλείπειν 664. 15, 37, 41.
καταμένειν 664. 6.
κατάρροος 661. 5.
κατάστασις 664. 24.
κατέχειν 675. 3.
κεῖνος 659. 36.
κεῖσθαι 659. 8; 667. 3.
κέλαδος 675. 12.
κελεύειν 664. 14, 129; 678. 1.
κέντρον 676. 10.
κεραία (or ἀκέραιος?) 655. 49.
κεράστης 662. 49.
κέρνος 683. 18.
Κίλικες 680. 1.
Κιλικία 679. 2.
κλειτός 671. 6 (?).
κλύειν 671. 17.
κλυτός 659. 58.
κνῖσα 660. 6.
κοινός 667. 22.
κοινωνεῖν 667. 12.
κόλασις 684. 21.
κομίζειν 664. 98; 683. 19.
κόμπος 659. 33.
κορύσσειν 660. 5.
κυσμεῖν 659. 60.
κόσμος 655. 26.
κοῦρος 662. 54; 671. 18.
Κραστός 665. 13, 15.
κρατεῖν 664. 113; 681. 5.
Κρατῖνος 663. 28.
κρείσσων 655. 7.
κρήνη 659. 80.
κρίνειν 659. 7; 663. 19.
κρίνον 655. 8.
κριός 663. 31.
Κρονίδαι 659. 12.
κρύπτειν 655. 43; 659. 10; 663. 31.
κρυπτός 654. 30.
κτῆμα 666. 118.
κῦμα 684. 14 (?).
κυμαίνειν 684. 16.
κυνηγεσία 662. 43 (?).
κυνηγία 664. 27.
Κύπρος 680. 10.
κύριος 654. 2 (?); 683. 1.
Κύψελος 664. 111.
κύων 666. 52 (?).
κωλύειν 666. 61.
κωμῳδεῖν 663. 44.

Λακεδαίμων 662. 33; 663. 21.
λαλεῖν 654. 1; 677. 6.
λαμβάνειν 664. 1, 113, 116; 679. 9.
λανθάνειν 659. 49.
λέγειν 654. 3 *et saep.*; 655. 17, 21; 659. 47; 661. 22; 662. 24; 664. 103, 110; 666. 109; 667. 25; 671. 1.
λείπειν 662. 31; 670. 3.
Λεωνίδης 662. 41, 55.
λήγειν 661. 18.
λιπότεκνος 659. 16.
λόγος 654. 1, 4.
λοετρόν 662. 39.
Λοξίας 659. 23.
λούειν 670. 6.
λυπεῖν 677. 3.
λυσιτελεῖν 664. 93.
λώτινος 659. 34.

μαθητής 655. 18.
μακάριος 654. 40.
μάλα 663. 46; 664. 19, 43; 684. 13. μᾶλλον 664. 94; 684. 6. μάλιστα 660. 4; 664. 12.
μαλακός 659. 27.
μαλάσσειν 659. 40 (ταράσσειν Pap.).
μανθάνειν 666. 163.
μάντις 659. 5.
μαρτυρεῖν 664. 104.
μαρτύρεσθαι 660. 16.
μάρτυς 659. 51.
μάχαιρα 666. 156.
μάχη 665. 8, 17.
μεγαλοφυΐα 664. 25.
μέγας 664. 108, 116; 680. 3; 684. 17.
μειράκιον 664. 18.
μέλας 659. 10. Μέλας p. 261.
μέλλειν 660. 9 (?); 663. 33.

μέλος 675. 13.
μέλπειν 675. 2, 11.
μελῳδεῖν 667. 6.
μέν 659. 43, 46; 660. 8; 662. 26; 663. 7, 14, 38; 664. 91; 667. 1, 8; 676. 9; 681. 6, 11; 684. 8, 13, 23. μὲν οὖν 664. 16.
μένος 661. 3.
μέριμνα 659. 66.
μερίς 679. 13 (?).
μέρος 667. 4.
μέση 667. 9, 17, 18.
μετά 663. 20, 23; 664. 9.
μετασκευάζειν 663. 32.
μεταχρόνιος 660. 13.
μή 654. 6, 37; 655. 23; 659. 16, 80; 661. 23; 663. 4; 664. 85; 666. 156, 158; 670. 23; 679. 7, 9. οὐ μή 654. 5.
μηδέ 662. 52.
μηδείς 659. 9; 666. 111.
μῆδος 659. 76.
μήτε 655. 2, 3; 666. 57.
μήτηρ 664. 37.
μιμνήσκειν 659. 35; 670. 8 (?).
Μινῴα 665. 18.
μόνος 662. 33; 681. 12.
μῦθος 661. 18.
μύρεσθαι 662. 38.
μυριάς 662. 36.
μυρίος 659. 78.

ναίειν 659. 105 (?).
ναός 659. 59.
ναῦς 660. 4; 663. 36.
νεκρός p. 261.
νέκταρ 659. 80.
νέος 662. 51. νεώτερος 664. 30.
νή 664. 103.
νήθειν 655. 10.
Νηρηΐς 672. 5.
νηστεύειν 654. 33.
νήτη 667. 9, 17, 19.
Νι( )(?) 671. 3.
νικᾶν 663. 19.
νίκη 659. 57.
νιν 676. 13.
νόμος 682. 2, 11.
]νομος 673. 5.
νόσος 662. 25.
Νουμήνιος 677. 7.
νοῦς 664. 100.
νύμφη 662. 42, 46.
νῦν 659. 54, 70, 80; 662. 35; 671. 12; 681. 13. νυνί 664. 106.
νύξ 660. 15.

ξένος 662. 26; 665. 2, 6, 9, 19.

ὀβριμοπάτρη 673. 2 (?).
Ὀγχηστός 659. 58.
ὅδε 659. 66; 662. 45, 46 (?), 51; 677. 1.
ὁδός 659. 72.
οἰκεῖος 664. 101.
οἰκειότης 664. 13.
οἰκίζειν 665. 19.
οἶκος 659. 17; 664. 40.
οἰκτείρειν 663. 38.
ὀϊστός 660. 3.
οἴχεσθαι 659. 82.
οἰωνός 662. 37.
ὀκνεῖν 663. 37.
ὀκτάχορδος 667. 24.
ὀλίγος 663. 24; 664. 119.
ὅλος 667. 4.
Ὄλυμπος 673. 5 (?).
ὁμαλός 659. 14.
ὁμολογεῖν 666. 162.
ὁμοῦ 662. 56 (?); 675. 6.
Ὀμφαλός 665. 1.
Ὀνη⟨σι⟩φάνης 662. 54.
ὄνομα 662. 26.
ὀνομαστός 683. 3.
ὀξύς 684. 19.
ὁπόταν 659. 37.
ὁπότε 667. 29.
ὁρᾶν 655. 21; 662. 37; 664. 32; 670. 21 (?).
ὅρπαξ 659. 27.
ὀρφανός 664. 37.
ὅς 654. 30, 31; 659. 36, 48, 58, 75; 662. 28; 664. 34; 666. 165; 676. 13; 678. 5 (?).
ὅσος 664. 89.
ὅστις 654. 12; 655. 9; 659. 16.
ὅταν 654. 7; 655. 22; 666. 54, 113.
ὅτι 654. 25; 664. 3; 671. 8.
οὐδέ 655. 10.
οὐδείς 664. 25; 684. 15.
οὐθείς 664. 96.
οὐ μή 654. 5.
οὖν 664. 16, 33, 102, 120.
οὔπω 671. 19, 20.
οὐρανός 654. 11, 12.
οὔτε 659. 48; 664. 93, 95.
οὗτος 654. 4; 660. 8; 662. 44, 50; 663. 6, 19, 20, 38; 664. 92, 110, 117; 666. 62, 157; 667. 22, 23; 670. 26; 682. 10. οὗτοσί 664. 106.
οὕτω 684. 15. οὕτως 664. 91.
ὀχεῖν 659. 28.
ὄψις 654. 28; 664. 20; 684. 10.

Παγώνδας 659. 30.
παιάν 675. 1, 12.
παιδεύειν 684. 6.
Παίονες 681. 14.
παῖς 659. 70; 662. 31; 664. 16; 666. 156; 670. 26; 671. 22.
παλ[670. 21.
πάλαι 659. 54; 676. 17; 684. 18 (?).
Παλαίμονες 661. 9, 13.
παλίγγλωσσος 659. 67.
πάμπαν 659. 17.
Πάν 662. 42, 46, 50.
πάνδοξος 659. 28.
πάντοθεν 670. 7.
πάνυ 664. 108.
πάππος 664. 33.
παρά 659. 81; 663. 14, 15; 664. 34.
παραγίγνεσθαι 663. 12, 33; 664. 106.

παραδιδόναι 663. 36, 40; 679. 5.
παρακαλεῖν 663. 42.
παραλαμβάνειν 683. 21 (?).
παρατηρεῖν 654. 35.
παραφαίνειν 663. 10.
παρεῖναι 670. 18.
παρθενήϊος 659. 46.
παρθένιος 659. 32.
Παρνασσός 674. 5.
πάροιθε 659. 43.
πάρος 662. 33.
πᾶς 659. 8; 663. 4 (?); 664. 26; 666. 118; 682. 2.
πατήρ 654. 19; 664. 36, 56, 112.
πάτρα 662. 24.
πατρίς 664. 100.
παύειν 682. 12. παύεσθαι 654. 6.
πέδιλον 659. 74.
πεδίον 662. 38.
πειθαρχεῖν 677. 4.
πείθειν 664. 5.
Πεισίστρατος 664. 1 *et saep.*
πέλανος 675. 14.
πέπλος 659. 26.
περί 654. 24.
Περίανδρος 664. 93 *et saep.*
περιεῖναι p. 262.
περιζμύχηρος 662. 37.
Περικλῆς 663. 45.
περιλαμβάνειν 666. 167.
περιπίπτειν 664. 109.
πετεινόν 654. 12.
Πιερίδες 673. 1 (?).
πιθανός 663. 46; 664. 91.
Πῖσα 659. 61.
πιστός 659. 50, 69.
πλεῖν 663. 20.
πλείων 66. 116 (?). πλεῖστος 681. 9.
πλῆθος 664. 118.
πλησιάζειν 664. 126.
]πλόκαμος 673. 9.
πνοή 659. 36.
ποιεῖν 654. 37; 664. 9; 667. 10.
ποιητής 663. 8 (?).
ποῖος 662. 25, 29.
πόλεμος 663. 16, 48. πόλεμόνδε 660. 5.
πόλις 664. 29, 114; 675. 5; 682. 3.
πολιτεία 683. 5.
πολλάκις 660. 7; 662. 34.
πολύγνωτος 659. 56.
πολυποίκιλος 672. 9.
πολύς 654. 25; 655. 7; 659. 43; 662. 34 (?); 664. 21; 667. 6; 674. 8 (?).
πολυώνυμος 675. 17.
ποντιάς 673. 8.
πόντος 659. 39; 661 24.
πορφύρεος 671. 19.
ποταμός p. 262.
πότε 655. 19, 20.
πότερον 667. 15.
ποτί, ποττάς 661. 16.
πούς 659. 70; 662. 45; 670. 12.
πρᾶγμα 664. 24; 684. 3.
Πραξώ 662. 26.
πράσσειν 666. 58.
π[.]ρβαλον (?) 661. 27.
πρέπειν 659. 45.
πρεσβευ[683. 16.
πρηνής 662. 36.
πρίν 659. 20.
πρό 664. 111.
προαιρεῖν 666. 59.
προδιδόναι 663. 43.
προθύμως 664. 43.
προλέγειν 664. 3.
προξενία 659. 53.
πρός 663. 7; 664. 25, 39, 125; 665. 16; 681. 12; 684. 12, 20, 21.
προσέρχεσθαι 684. 6, 22.
πρόσθε 670. 12.
προσιέναι 677. 5.
προσκεῖσθαι 667. 21.
προστάσσειν 663. 36.
προστάτης 678. 5.
προστιθέναι 655. 13.
πρόσφορος 659. 49.
πρότερον 664. 1; 681. 1 (?), 11.
προτομή 662. 44, 51.
προφέρειν 667. 29.
προφεύγειν 659. 19.
πρόφρων 659. 24.
πρόχειρος 684. 20.
πρωί 655. 1, 3.
πρῶτος 654. 25, 26; 659. 72.
Πυθώ 660. 7 (?).
πυλεπ[661. 19.
πυνθάνεσθαι 660. 7 (?).
πῦρ 684. 15.
πύρδανον 661. 19.
πυρπολεῖν 663. 24.
πῶς 654. 33, 34; 666. 168.
πως 666. 70.

ῥα 662. 30.
ῥᾳδίως 682. 13.
ῥηγνύναι 662. 52.
ῥίζα 659. 62.
ῥιπή 659. 40.
ῥίπτειν 661. 26.
ῥύθιος 662. 45.

Σάμιος 662. 26.
Σάτυρος 663. 42.
σαυνιαστής 661. 25.
σειρήν 659. 33.
σεμνός 659. 63.
σημαίνειν 667. 14.
σηρα[659. 128.
σθένος 659. 37.
σιγάζειν 659. 36.
σιγή 659. 9.
σιδηρ[670. 17. σιδηρο[660. 3.
Σιληνός 662. 49.
σκῆπτρον 671. 15, 20.
σκοπιά 660. 12.
Σόλοι 680. 9.
Σόλων 664. 10, 14.
σπᾶν 676. 14.
σπιλάς 662. 23.
σπονδή 675. 8.
σπουδάζειν 664. 11.
σταθμός 659. 29.
στείχειν 659. 71.
στέφανος 659. 31, 60.
στέφειν 675. 13.
στηλοῦν 662. 28.
στολ[660. 19.
στολή 655. 5.
στρατεία 665. 3, 13.

στρατόπεδον 679. 12.
σύ 654. 28, 29; 655. 21; 659. 71 (τίν); 661. 23 (τύ); 664. 104; 671. 22; 676. 9; 678. 4.
συγγείτων 662. 43.
συγγένεια 664. 115.
συγγενής 664. 40.
συμβαίνειν 666. 110; 667. 11.
συμφορά 664. 108.
σύν 660. 10.
συνακολουθεῖν 663. 41.
συναφή 667. 3, 11.
συνδιατρίβειν 664. 45.
σύνευνος 662. 28.
Συρακόσιοι 665. 4, 6, 8, 21.
σύστημα 667. 13, 26, 30.
σφάλλειν 659. 17.
σφάλος 676. 16.
σχεδόν 659. 73.
σχῆμα 667. 23.
σῶμα 659. 15.
σώφρων 659. 66.

τάλαρος 663. 30.
ταπεινοῦν 664. 22.
ταράσσειν 659. 40 (l. μαλάσσειν?); 684. 8.
Ταρτάριος 670. 5.
τάσσειν 659. 13.
τάφος 662. 28; 672. 7.
τελεῖν 659. 5.
τελευτᾶν p. 261.
τεός 670. 14, 18.
τέρπειν 674. 6.
τεχνήεις 670. 11 (?).
τηλικόσδε 684. 23.
τίειν 659. 92.
τιθέναι 666. 15 (?); 680. 7; 682. 11.
τίκτειν 670. 10.
τιμᾶν 659. 53; 672. 4.
τιμή 659. 6; 684. 20.
τις 663. 8; 664. 38, 128; 666. 59; 667. 15; 684. 4.
τίς 654. 35; 655. 4, 6, 12, 13; 662. 24, 28; 664. 99, 110; 670. 1; 671. 1; 677. 6; 684. 8, 9, 10.
Τμᾶρες p. 261.
τοίνυν 664. 92.
τοῖος 654. 1.
τοιόσδε 684. 22.
τοιοῦτος 684. 11.
τοκετός 662. 27.
τολμ[664. 64.
τονιαῖος 667. 20.
τόπος 654. 24; 667. 15.
τραχύνειν 664. 38.
τρεῖς 667. 12, 25.
τρέφειν 664. 34.
τρέχειν 677. 2.
Τριβαλλοί 681. 6, 10.
τριέτης 662. 31.
τρίς 662. 30.
τρισσός 662. 36.
τριτα[660. 10.
τριώβολον 678. 3.
τρόπος 664. 20; 677. 5; 684. 5.
τυγχάνειν 661. 17; 664. 35; 666. 113; 677. 3; p. 261.
τυραννεῖν 664. 7.
τυραννίς 663. 14; 664. 4.

υἱός 659. 30; 660. 9; 664. 120; 670. 10; 671. 2.
ὑμεῖς 654. 15 *et saep.*; 655. 4 *et saep.*; 682. 4.
ὑμνεῖν 659. 31.
ὕμνος 675. 9 (?).
ὑπάρχειν 663. 18.
ὑπάτη 667. 16.
ὑπέρ 664. 127.
ὑπερβάλλειν 664. 26.
ὑπερβατῶς 667. 7.
ὑπερβολαία 667. 18.
ὑπηρέτης 679. 18.
ὑπό 654. 13; 659. 9, 34; 662. 22, 25, 35; 664. 42, 94; 665. 20; 670. 24; 679. 3; 680. 14.
ὑπολαμβάνειν 664. 81, 102.
ὑπομένειν 663. 32.
ὑποστρέφειν 680. 12.
ὕστερον 679. 4 (?).

φαίνεσθαι 667. 9.
φάναι 664. 92, 97, 103, 110; 670. 8; 683. 4.
φανερός 654. 30.
φάσκειν 663. 44.
φάτνη 666. 53 (?).
φαῦλος 664. 96; 666. 158.
φέρειν 677. 8 (?).
φεύγειν 663. 25; 664. 118; 666. 64.
φθόνος 659. 8.
φθόρος 661. 15.
φιλεῖν 659. 11, 69.
Φιλόμηλος 664. 17, 42.
Φιλοποίμην 662. 35.
φίλος 664. 11; 670. 6, 15. φίλτερος 664. 99. φίλτατος 664. 98.
φιλοσοφεῖν 666. 169.
φιλοσοφία 666. 166.
φιλοστέφανος 675. 1.
φράζειν 662. 24; 664. 111.
φρίσσειν 659. 38; 662. 34.
φρονεῖν 659. 46.
φρόνησις 666. 161.
φύσις 664. 101.
φωρᾶν 663. 34.
φωτεινός 655. 25.

χαίτη 659. 60.
χαλεπαίνειν 664. 78 (?).
χάλυψ 662. 52.
χάρις 659. 24.
χαριτήσιον 662. 53.
χειμών 659. 37.
χείρ 659. 27; 662. 33.
χλευάζειν 663. 12.
χόλος 659. 65.
]χοος 660. 4.
χορηγεῖν 666. 93.
χορηγία 666. 113.
χορός 659. 51.
χρῆναι 659. 49.
χρῆσθαι 684. 19, 23.
χρόνος 659. 14; 664. 10, 70 (?).
χρυσ[660. 22.
χρύσεος 671. 16.
χρυσόπεπλος 659. 21.
χρωματικός 667. 1.
χώεσθαι 670. 16.

χωλός **670.** 11.
χώρα **663.** 25.
χωρίς **666.** 109.

ψυχή **665.** 115.

ὦ **661.** 9, 13; **662.** 46.
ᾠδή **675.** 16.
ὠκέως **659.** 26.
ὠκύαλος **659.** 39.
ὠκύπους **659.** 56.
ὠμότης **664.** 107.
ὡς **659.** 5; **663.** 36, 39, 40, 47; **665.** 18.
ὥσπερ **663.** 30.
ὥστε **666.** 167; **667.** 13.

(*b*) *Latin* (**668**).

a 25, 43, 56, 97, 164, 167, 174, 185, 212.
ab 33.
abire 26.
accipere 49, 148, 165, 175.
accusatio 9.
ad 16, 110, 121.
admittere 15.
adversus 83, 151.
Aebutius 38.
Aemilia 143.
Aemiliana via 31.
Aemilianus 95, 120, 123, *and see* Scipio.
Aemilius, L. Aem. 67. M. Aem. 215.
affinis 122.
Africa 125.
Africanus, P. Cornelius Scipio A. (the elder) 25, (the younger) 210, *and see* Scipio.
ager 75.
alius 92.
Ambracia 12.
amicitia 165.
Anio 188.
annus 177.
Antiochus 6, 213.
Appius (=Hasdrubal?) 132. Appius Claudius (*a*) 48, (*b*) 177.
aqua 188.
arma 102.
Asellus 182.
athleta 42.
Attalus 110.
Audax 197.
Aulus 76, 112, 193.
aurum 15.
auxiliari 90.

Bacchanalia 40.
Baebius, Cn. Baeb. 67. M. Baeb. 74.
basilica 57.
bellum 68, 89.
benigne 90.
Bithynia 110.
Boii 55.
Bononia 7.
Brutus 203, 216.

caedere 1, 126, 171, 208.
Caepio, Cn. Caepio 170. Q. Servilius Caep. 176, 182, 195.
Caius 30, 76, 84, 191, 215.
Campani 17.
canere 62.
capere 12, 127.
Capitolium 189.
captiva 14.
caput 16, 112.
carcer 204.
carmen 105, 189.
Carthaginienses 22, 83, 90.
Carthago 132, 134.
Cato 56, 114.
censor 56.
Censorinus 88.
censura 8.
centurio 15.
certamen 42.
Chaldaei 192.
Charidemus 98.
circa 51 (?), 169.
circumscribere 39.
clades 175.
Claudius, Appius Claudius (*a*) 48, (*b*) 177. M. Claud. Marcellus 58. Ti. Claud. Asellus 182. P. Claud. Pulcher 50.
clavus (clava?) 196.
Cnaeus 2, 66, 137, 170, 191.
cogere 32, 73.
comitium 208.
commodum 206.
competitor 9.
compositum (l. propositum?) 9.
conferre 47.
coniurium. *See* connubium.
connubium 17.
consul *passim.*
consulatus 153.
consultare 181.
contra 189.
cor 115.
Corinthius 168.
Corinthus 135, 145.
Cornelius, C. Corn. 84. Cn. Corn. 137. L. Corn. Scipio 27, 45. P. Corn. Scipio *see* Scipio.
Cotta 210.
Crassus 59.
creber 134.
crimen 72.
crudelissime 132.
cruentus 18.
cum (conjunction) 210.
cum (preposition) 77, 186.

đ (=duo?) 51.
damnare 28, 51, 86, 179.
dare 3, 6, 17, 166.
de 33, 179.
decedere 119.
Decimus 178, 200, 203, 216.
Decius (?) 89.
deditio 91.
deducere 7.
deformis 185.
deprehendere 116.
desertor 207.
desiderare 53.
deterrere (?) 184.
devincere 164, 185.
devovere 188.
dextra 166.
dicere 114.
dies 25, 180.
dimicare 125.
Diodotus 213.
diripere 138.
distribuere 120, 169.
Ditalco 197.
domus 180.
donum 165.
duo 141, 177.

edere 43.
esse 5, 63, 122.
et 18, 21, 37, 38, 82, 103, 169.
evincere 177.
ex 20.
exercitus 96, 126.
exoriri 89.
exspirare 207.

Fabius, Q. Fabius 4. Q. Fabius Maximus 149, 171, 185.
facere 104, 186.
Fecenia 37.
ferre 116.
fides 95.
filius 100, 101, 120, 141, 179.
fingere 72.
flamen 4.
Flaminia via 30.
Flamininus 52.
Flaminius 24.
flere 100.
flumen 217.
fortissime 187.
forum 63.
fugare 49, 172.
Fulvius, Q. Fulv. 81. Fulv. Nobilior 43, 82.
funebris 60.

Gabinius 193.
Galba 152.
Gallia 52.
Gallograecia 20.
Gallograeci 13, 33.
Gallus 44.
gladiatorius 54.

habere 115, 178.
Hannibal 64.
Hasdrubal 122.
Hispala 37.
Hispani 41, 77.
Hispania 1, 216.
homo 51.
Hostilius, A. Host. Mancinus 112. C. Host. Mancinus 215.
hostis 186.

idem 180.
in 5, 34, 63, 71, 75, 91, 92, 108, 111, 116, 125, 126, 174, 180, 187, 204, 208, 216.
incendium 128.
indicium 40 (?).
ingenuus 85.
insidiae 187.
intercedere 27.
interesse 180.
interfector 201.
interpellare 183.
invisus 155.
Italia 44.
iterum 3.
iubere 91.
iudicium. *See* indicium.
iugulare 198.
Iunius Brutus 200, 203, 216.

Lacedaemonii 18.
Laelius 176.
Latini 32.
legatio 114.
legatus 111, 121, 135.
Lentulus. *See* P. Cornelius Scipio.
liber 11, 66, 87, 173, 199.
liberare 14, 97.
liberi 118, 162.
Licinius 203. P. Licin. Crassus 59. P. Licin. 3. L. Porcius Licin. 50.
lictor 184.
Ligures 30, 49, 77.
Literninum 26.
Livius 19, *and see* Villius.
locus 92.
Lucius 21, 27, 45, 52, 67, 75, 78, 88, 113, 145, 152, 153, 210.
ludus 46, 60.
lugere (?) 207.
Lusitani 6, 83, 98, 136, 167, 171, 187, 212.

Macedonia 179.
magistratus 79.
magnitudo 211.
Mancinus 112, 215.
Manilius, M'. Manil. 88, 103. L. Manil. Vulso 113.
Manius 88.
Manlius, Cn. Manl. 2. L. Manl. 21. M. Manl. 81. T. Manl. Torquatus 178.
manus 55.
Marcellus 44. M. Claudius Marcell. 58.
Marcius Censorinus 88, 103.
Marcus 58, 74, 81, 82, 111, 114, 115, 150, 215.
mare 71.
Masinissa 121, 122.
mater 38.
maximus 3, 4, 120, 128.
Maximus 149, 171, 185.

Metellus, L. Metell. 167. Q. Metell. 127, 153 (?), 160.
millia (siglum) 51.
minari 8.
Minucius 21.
Minurus 197.
mittere 121.
multa 205.
Mummius 145, 168.
munire 31.
Myrtilus 21.

ne 26, 177.
nec 115.
negare 202.
Nobilior 82.
nobilis 14.
nomen 211.
non 133, 180, 220.
Numantini 174, 212.

obicere 196.
Oblivio 217.
obsidere 133.
occidere 16, 123 (?), 164.
Occius 186.
occupare 102.
omnis 91, 207.
oppidum 169.
Ortiagon 14.

Pamphylia 13.
pater 73.
pati 15.
pax 3, 6, 186.
pecunia 34.
pellere 94.
pensare (?) 16.
per 20, 30, 73, 98, 102, 107, 120, 138, 194.
perdomare 31.
Pergameni (?) 111.
persolvere 35.
persuadere 45.
pes 115.
petere 8, 79, 156.
Petillius, L. Petill. 75. Q. Petill. 25.
Petronius 150.
Philippus 101. Phil. Poenus 53.
Piso 191.
planus. *See* primus.
plebs 27, 78, 183, 204, 206.
podagricus 112.
Poenus 97.
Pompeius 170, 174.
pontifex 4.
Popilius 191.
populus 107, 205, 206.
Porcia basilica 57.
poscere. *See* pensare.
post 46.
Postumius, A. Post. 76. Sp. Post. 36.
potestas 142.
potiri 214.
praeda 20.
praetor 4, 135.
prex 205.
primum 43.
primus 217.
pro 206.
producere 99.
proelium 13, 18, 134.
profectio 183.
proficisci 5.
propositum 9 (?), 163.
prospere 125.
Publius 3, 50, 59, 74, 84, 200, 219.
Pulcher 50.
pupillus 37.
Punicus 89.

-que 16, 165, 180, 214.
qui 5, 22, 26, 35, 38, 100, 104, 119, 155, 164.
Quirinalis 5.
Quintius 52.
Quintus 4, 25, 81, 149, 160, 170, 171, 186.
quod 4, 53, 84, 122.
quondam 113.
quot 78.

redire 93.
referre 40.
regnum 119.
relinquere 119.
remittere 165.
res 216.
respondere 114, 181.
Rethogenes 161.
reus 99.
revocare 26.
rex 6, 110.
Roma 33, 169.
Romanus 1, 93, 133, 135.
Rutilius 38.

sacrarium 127.
sagulum 165.
Salassus. *See* Sapiens.
Salinator 19.
Sapiens 176.
Sardinia 5.
Scantinius 115.
Scipio, L. Cornelius Scipio 27, 45. P. Corn. Scipio Africanus 25. P. Corn. Scip. Aemilianus 74, 94, 120, 123, 138, 210. P. Corn. Scip. Nasica 200, 202.
Scordisci 175.
scriba 75.
se 101.
senectus 118.
Sergius 152.
Servilius Caepio 176, 182, 195.
Sibylla 189.
signum 168.
Silanus 178.
singuli 209.
socius 107, *and see* occidere.
spectaculum 54.
Spurius 36.
statua 168.
stolidus 113.
stuprare 85.
stuprum 116.
subigere 42, 136.
subsellium 123.
suffragium 194.
Sullani 218.

suus 53, 55, 179, 180, 184.
Syria 157, 214.

tabella 194.
tabernaculum 61.
tabula 168.
tertius 89.
Tiberius 182.
Titus 178.
Theoxena 70.
Thessalia 126.
tollere 41.
Torquatus 178.
transferre 35.
transire 217.
tribunus 27, 78, 183, 204, 206.
Tryphon 213.
tutor 38.
Tyresius 164.

ultimus 108, 118.
urbs 192.
Uticenses 89.
uxor 140, 146.

vastare 13, 83, 157, 212.
vates 62.
veneficium 51.
venire (veneo) 209.
venire (venio) 91.
verna 193.
vexare 167.
Villius 78.
vir 16.
virga 208.
Viriathus 172, 185, 198, 201.
virtus 96.
vis 15.
votivus 46.
Vulso 113.

II. KINGS AND EMPERORS.

Ἀρσινόη (Philadelphus?) **807**.

Ptolemy Alexander I.

Πτολ. [*ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος θεὸς*] *Φιλομήτωρ καὶ Βερενίκη* **802**. *om. Βερενίκη* **824**.

Augustus.

Καῖσαρ **711**. 3, 6; **721**. 4 *et saep.*; **731**. 2, 4, 15; **742**. 16; **743**. 17, 44; **744**. 15; **826**.

Tiberius.

Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός **746**. 12.

Claudius.

Θεὸς Κλαύδιος **713**. 15; **808**.

Domitian.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός **722**. 2.

Nerva.

Αὐτοκρ. Νέρονας Καῖσ. Σεβαστός **713**. 41, 44.

Hadrian.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβ. **714**. 28, 32; **715**. 27, 32; **726**. 2; **729**. 34, 38; **730**. 32.

Ἀδριανὸς Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος **707**. 19, 33; **714**. 19, 24; **715**. 8, 20; **730**. 6.

Antoninus Pius.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Τῖτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβ. Εὐσεβής **723**. 1; **724**. 14; **728**. 25; **729**. 45; **732**. 6. *om. Τῖτος* **727**. 29.

Τῖτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος **729**. 39.

Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος **712**. 13; **724**. 5; **728**. 17, 41; **732**. 3; **733**. 1; **800**.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS.

Αὐρήλιοι Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι Σεβ. **734**. 1.

COMMODUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβ. Ἀρμ. Μηδ. Παρθ. Σαρμ. Γερμ. Μέγιστος Βρετ. **716**. 23.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβ. Ἀρμ. Μηδ. Παρθ. Σαρμ. Γερμ. Μέγιστος **725**. 57.

PESCENNIUS NIGER.

Γάιος Πεσκέννιος Νίγερ Ἰοῦστος Σεβ. **719**. 5, 28. Cf. **801**.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουῆρος Εὐσεβὴς Περτίναξ Σεβ. Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβην. Παρθ. Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβὴς Σεβ. **705**. 1, 54.

Αὐτοκρ. Σεουῆρος καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος **705**. 15, 65.

οἱ κύριοι Σεβ. **735**. 10.

Αὐτοκράτορες **705**. 19, 70.

PHILIPPI.

Philippus Augustus ii et Philippus Caesar cos. **720**. 6.

DECIUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Μέσσιος Κύιντος Τραιανὸς Δέκιος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. **658**. 18.

III. MONTHS AND DAYS.

(*a*) MONTHS.

Δύστρος (Τῦβι) **723**. 1.
Iulius **737**. 1.
Καισάρειος (Μεσορή) **715**. 33; **722**. 3; **789**; **793**.
Νερώνειος (Χοίακ) **808**.
Νερώνειος Σεβαστός (Χοίακ) **808**.
Σεβαστός (Θώθ) **713**. 15.
Sextilis **737**. 21.
Ὑπερβερέταιος (Μεσορή) **722**. 2.

(*b*) DAYS.

ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι, ε **715**. 33, 37; ς **722**. 3, 43.
Idus **737**. 5 *et saep.*
Καλάνδαι **747**. 2.
Kalendae Sextiliae **737**. 21.
Nonae Iuliae **737**. 1.
Σεβαστή (Caesarius, 6th intercalary day) **722**. 3.

IV. PERSONAL NAMES.

Ἀβάσκαντος **716.** 5, 29.
Ἀβεῖς **728.** 3.
Ἀγαθῖνος father of Diodorus **713.** 8; **723.** 2.
Ἀθη( ) **736.** 37.
Ἀθηνόδωρος, Οὐαλέριος Ἀθ. **800.**
Αἰλιανός, Ἀντώνιος Αἰλ. **708.** 2, 15.
Ἀλέξανδρος **718.** 6.
Ἀλέξανδρος father of Leonides **713.** 9.
Ἄλις **744.** 1, 16.
Ἀμμωνᾶς **736.** 69.
Ἀμμώνιος **734.** 4; **791**; **825.**
Ἀμμώνιος father of Achilleus **722.** 11.
Ἀμμώνιος son of Apollonides **729.** 35, 38.
Ἀμμώνιος (or Ἀπολλώνιος) father of Didymus **719.** 2, 8, 11.
Ἀμόις father of Diogenes **728.** 3, 36.
Ἀμόις also called Papontos, son of Diodorus **733.** 3.
Ἀνθέστιος **707.** 12, 34.
Ἀνθέστιος Πρεῖμος also called Lollianus **718.** 2, 32.
Ἀντᾶς **736.** 30, 36; **742.** 1; **745.** 3; **811** (?).
Ἀντέρως son of Lucretius **817.**
Ἀντωνία **736.** 54.
Ἀντώνιος Αἰλιανός **708.** 2, 15.
Ἀπεῖς son of Apeis **732.** 3.
Ἀπίων, Γάιος Μάρκιος Ἀπ. also called Diogenes **727.** 6, 10, 27.
Ἀπίων son of Horion **728.** 5, 14, 22, 36.
Ἀπολινάριος, Γάιος Μάρκιος Ἀπ. also called Julianus **727.** 7, 10, 27.
Ἀπολλωνάριον **744.** 2.
Ἀπολλωνάριον, Οὐαλερία Ἀπ. also called Nicarete **727.** 17.
Ἀπολλωνίδης father of Ammonius **729.** 35.
Ἀπολλώνιος **714.** 8; **718.** 8, 32; **739.** 1; **791.**
Ἀπολλώνιος son of Apollonius **726.** 5.
Ἀπολλώνιος βιβλιοφύλαξ **713.** 2.
Ἀπολλώνιος (or Ἀμμώνιος) father of Didymus **719.** 2, 8, 11.
Ἀπολλώνιος son of Diogenes **726.** 5.
Ἀπολλώνιος father of Dionysius **724.** 2.
Ἀπολλώνιος son of Dorion **716.** 4, 28.
Ἀπολλώνιος Libyan **743.** 37.
Ἀπολλώνιος scribe of the city **714.** 6.
Ἀπολλώνιος father of Valerius **730.** 2, 35.
Ἀπυλλωνοῦς **722.** 15, 28, 39.
Ἀπολλῶς son of Ophelas **837.**
Ἀπολλῶς daughter of Paësis **837.**
Ἄρης planet **804.**
Ἀρθῶνις father of Thonis also called Morous **725.** 63.
Ἀριστίων **786.**
Ἄρπαλος son of Hermon **808.**
Ἀρσεῖς **728.** 2, 29.
Ἀρτεμᾶς **745.** 2.
Ἀρτεμίδωρος **715.** 24.
Ἀρχέλαος **721.** 10.
Ἀσίης **717.** 6.
Ἀσκληπιάδης **794**; **806.**
Ἀσκληπιάδης also called Sarapion, gymnasiarch **716.** 1.
Ἀσκληπιάδης father of Sarapion **723.** 4.
Αὐρηλία Ἀμμωνάριον **720.** 8. Aurelia Ammonarion **720.** 2.
Αὐρηλία Λαΐς daughter of Aurelius L . . . . . thion **658.** 15.
Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος son of Aurelius L. . . . . thion **658.** 13.
Αὐρήλιος Λ . . . . . θίων son of Theodorus **658.** 3.
Αὐρήλιος Πλουτάμμων **720.** 9, 13. Aurelius Plutammon **720.** 4.
Αὐρήλιος Ὡρίων ex-archidicastes **705.** 7, 18, 58, 67.
[.]ανσις son of Sipos **708.** 4.
Avidus, Gradius Av. **735.** 16.
Ἀχιλλᾶς son of Thonis **732.** 3.
Ἀχιλλεύς son of Ammonius **722.** 27, 35.
Ἀχιλλεύς also called Casius, strategus **719.** 1.
Ἀχορῖνις **807.**
Ἀφροδισιᾶς **744.** 11.

Barichius **735.** 19.
Βάσσος, Γέλλιος Β. epistrategus **726.** 19.
Beleus **735.** 12, 13.
Βεροῦς **736.** 71; **744.** 2.
Βησᾶς **832.**
Βίθυς father of Papontos **719.** 10.

Chu[**735.** 29.
Claudius Valerius Firmus praefect **720.** 1.
Claudius Sabinus **735.** 14.
Comar[inus (?) father of Marrius **735.** 3.
Cumesius (?) **735.** 27.

Γάιος Μάρκιος Ἀπίων also called Diogenes **727**. 6, 9, 27.
Γάιος Μάρκιος Ἀπολινάριος also called Julianus **727**. 6, 9, 27.
Γάιος Ῥούστιος **745**. 11.
Γάιος Σέπτιος Ῥοῖφος **721**. 1; **835**.
Γαλέστος **715**. 5.
Γαλέστος son of Polemon **715**. 2.
Γέλλιος Βάσσος epistrategus **726**. 19.
Γέμελλος **724**. 2; **736**. 12.
Γῆ **722**. 6.
Γοργίας father of Polemon **715**. 3, 12, 17.
Γοργίας son of Polemon **715**. 2, 34.
Gradius Avidus **735**. 16.

Δαμαρίων **706**. 10, 11.
Δαμᾶς **743**. 24, 40.
Δάμων **730**. 9.
Δημητρία **707**. 8 *et saep.*
Δημήτριος **825**.
Δημήτριος βιβλιοφύλαξ **713**. 2, 43.
Δημήτριος deputy archidicastes, son of Heraclides **727**. 4.
Δημητροῦς **723**. 3.
Δίδυμος **784**; **786**; **791**.
Δίδυμος son of Ammonius or Apollonius **719**. 2, 8, 11.
Δίδυμος son of Charit . . . **826**.
Δίδυμος son of Diogenes (?) **837**.
Διογᾶς **719**. 17.
Διογένης **726**. 7; **801**; **838**.
Διογένης son of Amois **728**. 3, 23, 29, 36.
Διογένης father of Apollonius **726**. 6.
Διογένης βιβλιοφύλαξ **713**. 3.
Διογένης, Γάιος Μάρκιος Ἀπίων also called Diog. **727**. 7, 10, 27.
Διογένης father of Didymus **837**.
Διογένης πράκτωρ **733**. 2.
Διογένης son of Sarapion **740**. 38.
Διογένης son of Theon also called Dionysius **716**. 17, 30.
Διόδωρος father of Amois also called Papontos **733**. 3.
Διόδωρος father of Agathinus **713**. 5, 7; **723**. 2.
Διόδωρος son of Diodorus **713**. 4, 21.
Διονυσιάς daughter of Galestus **715**. 5.
Διονύσιος **718**. 5, 12, 17; **790**.
Διονύσιος son of Apollonius **724**. 4.
Διονύσιος βιβλιοφύλαξ **714**. 3, 4.
Διονύσιος father of Dionysius **728**. 33.
Διονύσιος son of Dionysius **728**. 33.
Διονύσιος son of Phanias **789**.
Διονύσιος also called Theon **716**. 8, 31.
Διονύσιος son of Theon also called Dionysius **716**. 9, 13.
Διόσκορος **810**.
Διόσκορος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. son of Aurelius L.....thion **658**. 13.
Δωρᾶς father of Panechotes **716**. 3.
Δωρίων son of Heras **716**. 4, 28.

Εἰρηνίων **712**. 17.
Ἑλένη **719**. 2, 11.
Ἑλένη daughter of Gorgias **715**. 17.
Ἕλενος **743**. 22.
Ἐπαφρόδειτος **743**. 25.
Ἐράσιππος **717**. 6.
Ἕρμιππος **811**.
Ἑρμόδωρος also called Philonicus, basilicogrammateus **714**. 2.
Ἑρμόφιλος **746**. 3.
Ἕρμων father of Harpalus **808**.
Etiopius (?) **735**. 29.
Εὐαγγέλιος also called Sarapion, strategus **801**.
Εὐγενέτωρ **741**. 1.
Εὐδαιμονίς daughter of Theon also called Dionysius **716**. 9, 12.
Εὐτέρπη also called Tanechotarion, daughter of Diogenes **726**. 7.
Εὐτυχίδης **839**.
Εὔφρων **794**.

Firmus, Claudius Valerius F. praefect **720**. 1.

Zabdius **735**. 13.
Zebidius **735**. 23.
Ζεύς **722**. 6.
Ζμ . . . **736**. 4.
Ζώιλος **715**. 22.
Ζώιλος father of Ptolemaeus **729**. 37.

Ἡλιόδωρος father of Heliodorus **732**. 1.
Ἡλιόδωρος son of Heliodorus **732**. 1 *et saep.*
Ἥλιος **722**. 6.
Ἥρα goddess **731**. 6.
Ἡραδίων **725**. 1.
Ἡρακλ[**800**.

Ἡρακλᾶς son of Sarapion also called Leon **725.** 3 *et saep.*
Ἡρακλᾶς son of Tryphon **722.** 21.
Ἡρακλεία **740.** 42.
Ἡρακλείδης **706.** 2, 10; **740.** 42, 43; **795**; **831.**
Ἡρακλείδης basilicogrammateus **746.** 1, 13.
Ἡρακλείδης ex-exegetes, father of Demetrius **727.** 4.
Ἡρακλείδης son of Horion **719.** 18.
Ἡρακλείδης father of Samus **716.** 6, 30.
Ἡρακλείδης father of Sarapion also called Leon **725.** 3.
Ἡρακλείδης father of Theon **723.** 2.
Ἡρακλῆς father of Xenon **785.**
Ἡρᾶς **740.** 35.
Ἡρᾶς βιβλιοφύλαξ **715.** 1, 35.
Ἡρᾶς father of Dorion **716.** 5.
Ἡρώδης father of Sarapion **730.** 1.
Ἥρων **736.** 99; **740.** 17 (?).

Θαῆσις **716.** 5; **736.** 68.
Θαῆσις daughter of Theon also called Dionysius **716.** 10, 14.
Θαίς daughter of Diodorus **713.** 22.
Θανῶχις son of . . . etis and father of Pathermouthis **712.** 4.
Θεόδοτος, Οὐαλέριος Θ. also called Polion **727.** 17.
Θεόδωρος **736.** 33, 76.
Θεόδωρος father of Aurelius L.....thion **658.** 4.
Θεόξενος **836.**
Θεόφιλος politarch **745.** 4.
Θέων **740.** 35 (?); **746.** 1; **799.**
Θέων also called Dionysius **716.** 8, 31.
Θέων son of Heraclides **723.** 2.
Θοῆρις god **806.**
Θοτσυταῖος son of Horus **797.**
Θοῶνις father of Achillas **732.** 3.
Θρασύμαχος **713.** 26.
Θῶνις **725.** 7.
Θῶνις also called Morous, son of Harthonis **725.** 63.

Iebael **735.** 18.
Ierraeus son of Macchana **735.** 15.
Ἰησοῦς **816.**
Ἰλαρίων **744.** 1, 16.
Ἰουλιανός, Γάιος Μάρκιος Ἀπολινάριος also called J. **727.** 7, 10, 28.
Ἱπποδ( ) **715.** 35.
I . ρ . μ . . archidicastes, son of Isidorus **727.** 1.
Ἰσᾶς **736.** 32; **739.** 1.
Ἰσιδώρα daughter of Calas **713.** 10.
Ἰσίδωρος **816.**
Ἰσίδωρος ex-exegetes, father of I . r . m . . **727.** 1.
Ἰσίδωρος father of Valerius **735.** 4.
Ἰσχυρίων son of Heradion **725.** 1, 15, 46.
Iulia Titia lex **720.** 5, 14.
Iulius **735.** 28.

Καικίλιος **736.** 55.
Κάλας **713.** 10.
Κάσιος, Ἀχιλλεύς also called C. **719.** 1.
Κεφαλᾶς **806.**
Κλᾶρος **734.** 2.
Κλαυδία Πτολεμᾶ **810.**
Κλαύδιος, Τίτος Κ. Ξενοφῶν epistrategus **718.** 1.
Κλέων **734.** 4.
Κόραξος **736.** 4, 10.
Κῦνος son of Ptolemaeus **814.**
Κωμαρῖνος father of Victor imperial steward **735.** 6.

Λαίς, Αὐρηλία Λ. daughter of Aurelius L . . . . . thion **658.** 15.
Λαῖτος praefect **705.** 40.
Λαυδίκη **736.** 95.
Λεοντᾶς son of Pekuris **732.** 1 *et saep.*
Λεπτίνης son of . . monax **831.**
Λέων, Σαραπίων also called L., son of Heraclides **725.** 3, 61.
Λεωνίδης son of Alexander **713.** 5, 9.
Λεωνίδης son of Diodorus **713.** 4.
Λ . . . . . θίων, Αὐρήλιος Λ. son of Theodorus **658.** 3.
Λίβιος **728.** 1, 28.
Λοκρήτιος father of Anteros **817.**
Λοκρίων **812.**
Λολλιανός, Ἀνθέστιος Πρεῖμος also called L. **718.** 2, 32.
Λούκιος **812.**
Λούκιος father of Ptollas **729.** 35.
Λοῦπος praefect **706.** 5.
Λυσίμαχος **822.**

Macchana father of Ierraeus **735.** 15.
Malichus son of Sa[**735.** 24.
Malichus father of Themes **735.** 17.

Μαλωχῶς *optio* **735.** 5.
Μαμερτεῖνος, Πετρώνιος Μ. praefect **726.** 17.
Μάρκιος, Γάιος Μ. Ἀπίων also called Diogenes **726.** 6, 9, 27.
Μάρκιος, Γάιος Μ. Ἀπολινάριος also called Julianus **727.** 6, 9, 27.
Marrius son of Comarinus (?) **735.** 3.
Μέλας father of Miusis **719.** 19.
Μένιππος **715.** 24.
Μιῦσις son of Melas **719.** 19.
Μοιμεσ . χ( ) father of Pathotes **740.** 40.
Μοῦθις father of Papontos **719.** 18.
Μωροῦς also called Thonis, son of Harthonis **725.** 63.
. . μῶναξ father of Leptines **831.**

Νεοπτόλεμος father of . . . on **712.** 9.
Νεχθεῦς **739.** 3.
Νικαρέτη, Οὐαλερία Ἀπολλωνάριον also called N. **727.** 18.
Νουμήνιος **715.** 22.

Ξενοφῶν, Τίτος Κλαύδιος Ξ. epistrategus **718** 1.
Ξένων **810.**
Ξένων son of Heracles **785.**

Ὀνθονόβις **815.**
Οὐαλερία Ἀπολλωνάριον also called Nicarete **727.** 16.
Οὐαλέριος Ἀθηνόδωρος **800.**
Οὐαλέριος son of Apollonius **730.** 2, 34.
Οὐαλέριος Θεόδοτος also called Polion **727.** 16.
Οὐίκτωρ imperial steward, son of Comarinus **735.** 5.
Οὐιτάλιος archidicastes **719.** 3, 7.

Pacebius **735.** 30.
Παῆσις **837.**
Παθερμοῦθις son of Thanochis **712.** 6, 12.
Παθώτης **728.** 1, 27.
Παθώτης son of Moimes . ch . . . **740.** 40.
Πανάρης also called Panechotes, ex-cosmetes **724.** 1.
Πανγορσαοῦις father of . . . nychus **708.** 17.
Πανεσι . . . **722.** 22.
Πανεχώτης son of Doras **716.** 3, 27.
Πανεχώτης also called Panares, ex-cosmetes **724.** 1.
Παντωνυμίς **658.** 5.
Παοῦς son of Bithys **719.** 15.
Παποντῶς also called Amois, son of Diodorus **733.** 3.
Παποντῶς son of Bithys **719.** 10, 27, 34.
Παποντῶς son of Mouthis **719.** 18.
Πασαλῦμις **740.** 20.
Πᾶσις **736.** 85 (?).
Παυσῖρις son of Petsiris **808.**
Πεκῦρις father of Leontas **732.** 1, 9.
Πέλλις **811.**
Πετεῆσις **722.** 32.
Πετσῖρις father of Pausiris **808.**
Πετρώνιος Μαμερτεῖνος praefect **726.** 17.
Πλούταρχος **707.** 14.
Πόθος **742.** 2.
Πολέμων **719.** 6.
Πολέμων son of Gorgias **715.** 4, 11.
Πολέμων son of Tryphon **721.** 2, 9.
Ποτάμων son of Thanochis **712.** 4 *et saep.*
Πρεῖμος, Ἀνθέστιος Π. also called Lollianus **718.** 2, 32.
Πρῖμα **736.** 17.
Psenosirius **735.** 25.
Πτολεμᾶ, Κλαυδία Πτ. **810.**
Πτολεμαῖος **790.**
Πτολεμαῖος father of Kunos **814.**
Πτολεμαῖος strategus **803.**
Πτολεμαῖος son of Zoilus **729.** 37.
Πτολλᾶς son of Lucius **729.** 35.
Πωλίων, Οὐαλέριος Θεόδοτος also called P. **727.** 17.

Romanus **735.** 26.
Ῥούστιος, Γάιος Ῥ. **745.** 11.
Ῥοῦφος, Γάιος Σέπτιος Ῥ. **721.** 1 ; **835.**

Sabinus, Claudius S. **735.** 14.
Sadus **735.** 2, 20.
Salmes **725.** 32.
Σάμος son of Heraclides **716.** 6, 30.
Σαραεῦς daughter of Leonides **713.** 5, 8.
Σαραπᾶς son of Ammonius **722.** 8, 21, 37.
Σαραπίων **707.** 13 ; **716.** 15 ; **729.** 5 *et saep.* ; **806** ; **825.**
Σαραπίων also called Asclepiades, gymnasiarch **716.** 1.
Σαραπίων father of Diogenes **740.** 38.
Σαραπίων also called Euangelius, strategus **801.**
Σαραπίων son of Heraclides **723.** 4.

Σαραπίων son of Herodes **730.** 1.
Σαραπίων also called Leon, son of Heraclides **725.** 3, 61.
Σαραποῦς **722.** 11; **795.**
Σεκουντᾶς **736.** 50.
Σεκοῦντος **736.** 81.
Σενεῖθος **799.**
Σέπτιος, Γάιος Σ. Ῥοῦφος **721.** 1; **835.**
Σιμάριστος **802.**
Σίμιλις, Σουλπίκιος Σ. praefect (?) **712.** 22.
Σινθεῦς **716.** 9.
Σιντότις (or -τον) **794.**
Σιπῶς father of [.]ausis **708.** 4.
Σουλπίκιος Σίμιλις praefect (?) **712.** 22.
Στράτος **736.** 97.
Σωγγινᾶρις **831.**
Σωγένης **829.**

Τααρπαῆσις **736.** 70.
Τανεχωτάριον also called Euterpe, daughter of Diogenes **726.** 6.
Ταοννῶφρις daughter of Panesi . . . **722.** 22.
Ταοῦς **716.** 4.
Ταποντῶς **715.** 12, 18; **733.** 5.
Ταπτολλοῦς daughter of Caecilius **736.** 55.
Ταυρεῖνος **799.**
Ταῦρις **716.** 11.
Τεχωσοῦς **809.**
Τεῶς **832.**
Themes **735.** 21.
Themes son of Malichus **735.** 17.
Titia, lex Iulia et Titia **720.** 5, 14.
Τίτος Κλαύδιος Ξενοφῶν epistrategus **718.** 1.
Τρυφᾶς **736.** 56.
Τρύφων father of Heraclas **722.** 21.
Τρύφων father of Polemon **721.** 2.
Truphon **735.** 27.
Τσεεί daughter of Theon **723.** 2.
Τσενπαχοῦς **719.** 10.
Τύχη **736.** 18.

Valerius, Claudius V. Firmus praefect **720.** 1.
Valerius son of Isidorus **735.** 4.

Φανίας father of Dionysius **789.**
Φαῦστος **742.** 1, 17.
Φῆλιξ praefect **800.**
Φιλεῖνος **707.** 12, 18, 34.
Φιλόνεικος also called Hermodorus, basilicogrammateus **714.** 1.
Φιλουτάριον **739.** 20.
Φνᾶ **736.** 14.
Φωσφόρος **792.**

Χαιράμμων **724.** 3.
Χαιρήμων **723.** 5.
Χαρίξεινος **728.** 6.
Χαριτ . ( ) father of Didymus **826.**

Ψάμμις agoranomus **722.** 5.
Ψεναμοῦνις **695.** introd.

Ὠριγένης βιβλιοφύλαξ **715.** 1.
Ὡρίων father of Apion **728.** 5, 36.
Ὡρίων father of Heraclides **719.** 19.
Ὡρίων son of Panechotes **716.** 3, 27.
Ὧρος **719.** 17.
Ὧρος father of Thotsutaius **797.**
Ὠφελᾶς father of Apollos **837.**
Ὠφελᾶς father of Ophelas **727.** 8.
Ὠφελᾶς son of Ophelas **727.** 8, 12, 22, 26.

V. GEOGRAPHICAL.

(*a*) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities.

Aegyptus **720.** 1.
Ἀθριβίτης **712.** 1, 8.
Αἰγύπτιοι **706.** 1, 7.
Αἴγυπτος **727.** 11.
Ἀλεξάνδρεια **709.** 9; **743.** 24; **744.** 3, 5; **799.** Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις **705.** 20, 68. ἡ πόλις **727.** 2.
Ἀντινοεῖς **705.** 50 (?).

Ἀραβία 709. 5.
Ἀρσινοίτης 709. 7.
Ἀττικός 705. 46.
[Αὐ]ία 709. 6.

Διοπολίτης 708. 2, 15.

Ἑλληνικός 784.
Ἑπτὰ νομοί 709. 7.

Ἡλίου πόλις 719. 2, 9, 12.
Ἡρακλεοπολίτης 715. 1.

Θηβαίς 708. 2, 15; 709. 7; 722. 4; 723. 1; 726. 4; 831.

Ἰουδαῖοι 705. 33; 707. introd.

Καβασίτης p. 263.
Κανωπικός 738. 2.
κάτω χώρα 709. 8.
Κυνοπολίτης 746. 13.
Κύνου (for Κυνῶν?) 739. 2.

Λιβικός 743. 37.

Μακεδὼν τῶν Σωγγινάριος πεζῶν 831.
Μέμφις 709. 6; 825.
Μεμφίτης 825.

Μετηλίτης p. 263.

Ὄμβοι 834.
Ὀξυρυγχῖται 705. 9, 60.
Ὀξυρυγχίτης (νομός) 705. 69; 707. 15; 710. 2; 719. 4, 11; 721. 3; 727. 13; 746. 13; 833.
Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις 718. 4; 724. 1.
Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις 707. 13; 713. 6, 13; 716. 7; 722. 4, 12; 723. 1; 725. 2; 726. 3, 8; 727. 9; 728. 5; 730. 2; 732. 1; 789; 808; 831; 836.
Ὀξύρυγχοι (?) 745. 6.

Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς 730. 4; 836.
Πηλούσιον 709. 4.
Πηλουσιῶται 705. 37.
Πτολεμαίς 839.

Ῥωμαῖοι 705. 31; p. 263.

Σεθροίτης 709. 5.

Τανίτης 709. 5.
τοπαρχία, ἄνω 721. 9.
Θμοισεφώ 721. 11; 808.
μέση 734. 3.
Νορασείτης (not Oxyrh.) 712. 20.

χώρα, ἡ κάτω χ. 709. 8.

(b) Villages, ἐποίκια, τόποι.

Εὐεργέτ[ις 814.

Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον 838.

Θελβώ 814.
Θεω[740. 35.
Θ . θῶθις 794.
Θῶλθις 695. introd.; 740. 35.
Θῶσβις 721. 9; 728. 2, 4, 6.

Ἰβίων Παχνοῦβις (Heracleop.) 715. 21.
Ἴσιον Ἀ . . . 732. 2.
Ἴσιον Τρύφωνος 719. 10, 14.

Κερκεμοῦνις 746. 7; 837.
Κεσμοῦχις 740. 40; 808.
Κύνου (=Κυνῶν?) 739. 2.

Μαγδῶλα 740. 43.
Μερμέρθ(α?) 740. 16; 823.
Μοῦχις 784.
Μωνθμερεύ (not Oxyrh.) 712. 20.

Νέκλη 742. 17.
Νεμέρα 797.
Νέσλα 713. 24, 31.

Ὀξυρύγχοις (Dat.?=Ὀξ. πόλις) 745. 6.

Παγκῦλις 732. 5.
Παλῶσις 808.
Παῶμις 740. 24.
Πεεννώ 713. 26.
Πέλα 740. 20, 21, 37, 38; 835.
Πέτνη Τακυλ( ) τόποι 734. 3.

Σενεκελεύ 740. 26.
Σενέπτα 730. 3, 39.
Σέννις 718. 13.
Σενοκωμ[740. 37, 38.
Σερῦφις 707. 20; 740. 18.
Σεφώ 808.
Σιναρύ 810.

Τακολ( ) 734. 3, 5.
Τακόνα 743. 29.
Ταλαώ 695. introd.
Ταμαῦις (Fayûm) p. 263.
Τεποῦις 721. 9.
Τῆις 808.
Τοεμῖσις (Heracleop.) 715. 6, 13, 14.
Τρύφωνος Ἴσιον 719. 10, 14.

Ψελεμαχ( ) (Heracleop.) 715. 24.

(*c*) κλῆροι.

Δάμωνος 730. 9.

Εὔφρονος αλα 794.

Ζωίλου καὶ Νουμηνίου 715. 22.

Θρασυμάχου παρειμένη 713. 26.

Μενίππου καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρου 715. 24.

Ξένωνος 810.

Χαριξείνου 728. 6.

(*d*) ἄμφοδα.

Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς 786.

Νότου Δρόμου 786.
Νότου Κρηπῖδος 714. 11.

(*e*) BUILDINGS, &c.

Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη 719. 35.

Σαραπιεῖον 736. 25; 832; 835.

(*f*) DEME AND TRIBE.

Σωσικόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ηλι[(?) 712. 9.

VI. RELIGION.

(*a*) GODS.

Γῆ 722. 6.

Ζεύς 722. 6.

Ἥλιος 722. 6.

Ἥρα 731. 6.

θεός 658. 8; 715. 28. Cf. Index ii.
Θοῆρις 806.

(*b*) Priests.

ἀρχιερατεύσας **718.** 3.

ἱερεὺς Θοήριος **806.** ἱερ. καὶ ἀρχιδικαστής **719.** 3; **727.** 2.

(*c*) Miscellaneous.

ἄστρα Ἥρας **731.** 6.

θυσία **658.** 2.

ἱερά sc. γῆ **721.** 7.

ἱερατικοὶ τόποι **707.** introd.
ἱερόν ('offering') **658.** 1, 12; **784.**
ἱερόν ('temple') **785.**
Ἴσεια **731.** 5.

VII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS.

ἀγορανόμος **722.** 4.
αἰτητής **788.**
ἀριθμός, πρώτων ἀριθμῶν ἱππεύς **735.** 8.
ἀρχιδικαστής, Ἰ . . . Ἰσιδώρου ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδ. (A.D. 154) **727.** 2. Οὐιτάλιος ἱερ. καὶ ἀρχιδ. (A.D. 193) **719.** 3, 7. Δημήτριος Ἡρακλείδου διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιδικαστείαν (A.D. 154) **727.** 4.

βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς, Ἡρακλείδης (A.D. 16) **746.** 1, 13. Φιλόνεικος ὁ καὶ Ἑρμόδωρος (A.D. 122) **714.** 1.
βιβλιοφύλαξ **712.** 1; **713.** 3; **714.** 5; **715.** 1.
βοηθός **734.** 4.

γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς **715.** 1, 35.
γραμματεύς **709.** 13; **715.** 35; **835.** βασιλικὸς γρ. See βασιλικός. γρ. καταλογείου **719.** 6. γρ. πόλεως **714.** 7.
γυμνασίαρχος **716.** 1.

δεκάδαρχος **747.** 1.

ἐξηγητεύσας **714.** 6.
ἐξηγητής (of Alexandria) **727.** 1, 5.
ἐπικριτής **714.** 5, 38.
ἐπιστατεία φυλακιτῶν **803.**
ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἱππάρχων **790.**
ἐπιστράτηγος, Γέλλιος Βάσσος (A.D. 135) **726.** 18. Ξενοφῶν (A.D. 180–92) **718.** 1.

ἐπιτηρητὴς ξενικῶν πρακτορείας **712.** 1, 8.
ἔφοδος **710.** 4.

ἡγεμονεύσας, Φῆλιξ (C. A.D. 153) **800.**
ἡγεμών, Λοῦπος (C. 115) **706.** 5. Πετρώνιος Μαμερτεῖνος (A.D. 135) **726.** 17. Σουλπίκιος Σίμιλις **712.** 22. Λαῖτος (A.D. 200–2) **705.** 39. Claudius Valerius Firmus (A.D. 247) **720.** 1.

ἱερῶν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν **658.** 1.
ἵππαρχος **790.**
ἱππεὺς πρώτων ἀριθμῶν **735.** 8.

κεκοσμητευκώς **724.** 1.
κριτής **726.** 20.
κωμογραμματεύς **718.** 13, 20, 26.

λαογράφος **786.**

μαχαιροφόρος **839.**

οἰκονόμος οὐικάριος **735.** 6.
ὀπτίων **735.** 5.
οὐικάριος, οἰκονόμος οὐικ. **735.** 6.

pedes **735.** 12.
πεζός, οἱ Σωγγινάριος πεζοί **831.**
πολιτάρχης **745.** 4.
πραγματευτής **825.**

πρακτορεία ξενικῶν **712.** 1, 8; **825.**
πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν **733.** 2; **734.** 3.

σιτολόγος **708.** 10, 21; **740.** 24, 26; **798**; **833.**
στρατηγός **708.** 2, 18; **717.** 7, 11; **718.** 24. (Of Alexandria) Ἰ . . . . Ἰσιδώρου γενόμενος στρ. (A.D. 154) **727.** 2. Αὐρήλιος Ὡρίων γενόμ. στρ. (A.D. 200–2) **705.** 18, 67. (Of Oxyrhynchus) Πτολεμαῖος (late 1st cent. B.C.) **803.** Ἀχιλλεὺς ὁ καὶ Κάσιος (A.D. 193) **719.** 1, 4.

τοπογραμματεύς **833.**

ὑπηρέτης **712.** 17.

φυλακίτης **803.**
φύλαξ **803.**

χειριστής **734.** 2.
χιλίαρχος **708.** 13.
χρηματιστής **719.** 7; **727.** 3.

ὡρογράφος **710.** 3.

VIII. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS.

(*a*) Weights and Measures.

ἄκαινα **669.** 29, 41.
ἄμμα **669.** 29.
ἄρουρα **713.** 24 *et saep.*; **715.** 26; **718.** 8 *et saep.*; **721.** 10, 11, 14; **728.** 7, 8, 30; **729.** 33; **730.** 8, 39; **740.** 41 *et saep.*
ἀρτάβη **708.** 4, 11, 17, 19; **718.** 15; **735.** 9; **736.** 8 *et saep.*; **788**; **789**; **836.**

βῆμα **669.** 28, 37.

δάκτυλος **669.** 14, 17, 26, 43.
δέσμη **742.** 4, 13.
δίαυλον **669.** 30.

ἑκατοστή **708.** 8, 9, 20.

κάλαμος **669.** 28, 41.
κεράμιον **729.** 36; **745.** 1; **784.**
κοτύλη **784.**

λιχάς **669.** 27, 31.

μέτρον **669.** 26; **707.** 26, 28, 30; **717.** 1, 2; **729.** 27. μ. ἀγορανομικόν **836.** μ. δημόσιον **740.** 18, 20. μ. ἐμβ(ολικόν?) **740.** 18. μ. σιτολογικόν **740.** 17. μ. τετραχοίνικον ἀγορανομικόν **836.** μ. χαλκοῦν **717.** 8.
μίλιον **669.** 30.

ναύβιον **669.** 11, 24.

ξύλον **669.** 11, 20, 21, 28. ξ. βασιλικόν **669.** 11, 19. ξ. δημόσιον **669.** 38.

ὄγδοον **669.** 1, 2.
ὀργυιά **669.** 28, 39.

παλαιστής **669.** 13, 16, 27, 31, 34.
πῆχυς **669.** 2 *et saep.* π. δημόσιος **669.** 34. π. ἐμβαδικός **669.** 6, 10. π. εὐθυμετρικός **669.** 5. π. λινοϋφικός **669.** 33. π. Νειλομετρικός **669.** 35. π. οἰκοπεδικός **669.** 9. π. στερεός **669.** 7. π. τεκτονικός **669.** 35.
πλέθρον **669.** 29.
πούς **669.** 27, 32.
πυγών **669.** 27, 34.

σπιθαμή **669.** 27, 32.
στάδιον **669.** 29.
σχοινίον **669.** 1, 3, 18.

τετάρτη **795.**

χοῖνιξ **740.** 18 *et saep.*; **789.**
χοῦς **736.** 15; **739.** 11; **819.**

(*b*) Coins.

ἀργύριον 706. 3; 712. 6, 15; 724. 6; 728. 9 *et saep.*; 729. 6, 13, 20, 40; 730. 12, 37; 731. 8, 9, 10, 12; 784; 788; 791; 808. ἀργ. ἐπίσημον 722. 19. ἀργ. Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος 719. 21; 722. 25.
as 737. 2 *et saep.*

δραχμή 707. 8 *et saep.*; 712. 6, 14, 15, 21; 719. 21, 31; 722. 19, 25; 724. 6 *et saep.*; 725. 22 *et saep.*; 728. 9 *et saep.*; 729. 6 *et saep.*; 730. 12, 14, 37; 731. 8, 9, 11, 12; 732. 5 *et saep.*; 733. 4, 6; 736. 2 *et saep.*; 739. 2 *et saep.*; 742. 14; 745. 1; 784; 788; 791–2; 799; 803; 808; 817; 819.
δραχμιαῖος τόκος 712. 14; 728. 20.

ἡμιωβέλιον 733. 4, 6; 736. 12 *et saep.*; 739. 8, 11.

μνᾶ 728. 21.

ὀβολιαῖος 729. 10.
ὀβολός 731. 8, 11, 13; 736. 5 *et saep.*; 739. 7 *et saep.*

πεντώβολον 733. 4, 6; 736. 68 *et saep.*; 739. 6.

semis ($\frac{1}{2}$ as) 737. 11 *et saep.*

τάλαντον 710. 6–8; 722. 17, 26; 784; 806.
τετρώβολον 722. 20; 734. 5, 6; 736. 12 *et saep.*; 739. 4, 13.
τριώβολον 736. 8 *et saep.*; 739. 11, 16; 819.

χαλκός 722. 26. χαλκοί 743. 23.

IX. TAXES.

ἀργυρικά 733. 2; 734. 3.

γλυ( ) 734. 4.
γραμματικόν p. 263.

ἐπικεφάλαιον 832.

λαογραφία 714. 23; 733. 5.

ναῦλον πορείων 792.

ξενικά 712. 1, 8; 825.

οἴνου τέλος 788.

πρακτορικαὶ δαπάναι 712. 21.
προσμετρούμενα 708. 12.

σιτικά 798.
σιτολογικόν 740. 22, 27.
σιτομετρικόν 740. 23, 25.
σπονδή 730. 13.
συ( ) 734. 4.

τέλος 712. 6; 788.

υἱκή 733. 4, 6.

φορικά, Ἀρσινόης φορ. 807.
φόρος πόρθμειος 732. 4.

X. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS.

abire **720.** 13.
ἄβροχος **740.** 45; **810.**
ἄγειν **742.** 7.
ἀγεώργητος **705.** 74.
ἀγοράζειν **717.** 3; **742.** 12; **745.** 2; **839.**
ἀγορανομεῖον **713.** 13.
ἀγορανομικός **836.**
ἀγορανόμος **722.** 4.
ἀγοραστός **798.**
ἀγυιά **722.** 12, 34; **723.** 5; **726.** 9.
ἀγωνιᾶν **744.** 4, 13.
ἀγωνίζεσθαι **705.** 50, 51.
ἀδελφή **715.** 17; **744.** 1; **745.** 1.
ἀδελφιδοῦς **727.** 16.
ἀδελφός **707.** 34; **712.** 5, 12; **713.** 21, 30; **716.** 17; **717.** 6; **718.** 8, 10; **719.** 15; **725.** 6; **743.** 1; **791.**
ἀδιακρίτως **715.** 36.
ἄδικος **717.** 10; **718.** 23.
ἄδολος **729.** 19; **836.**
ἀεί **658.** 6; **719.** 13.
ἀθετίζειν **808.**
αἴθριον **719.** 15, 16.
αἴξ **807.**
αἱρεῖν **719.** 26; **728.** 12; **729.** 21, 31, 41, 43; **787**; **800.**
αἵρεσις **716.** 22; **729.** 41.
αἰτεῖν **709.** 12.
αἰτητής **788.**
αἰτία **725.** 41.
ἄκαινα **669.** 29, 41.
ἀκίνδυνος **730.** 15.
ἀκολούθως **706.** 9; **718.** 10; **729.** 14.
ἀκούειν **812.**
αλα (sic) **794.**
ἄλεστρα **736.** 8, 31, 34, 72, 76; **739.** 6.
ἀλήθεια **715.** 29.
ἀλλάσσειν **729.** 43.
ἀλληλεγγύη **712.** 12, 15.
ἀλληλέγγυος **729.** 21.
ἀλλήλους **713.** 11, 16; **719.** 20; **724.** 6; **727.** 28.
ἁλμυρίς **736.** 73; **740.** 46.
ἅλς **736.** 7, 74.
ἅμα **658.** 13; **798.**
ἀμείνων **716.** 21.
ἀμελεῖν **707.** 31; **742.** 14.
ἀμέμπτως **724.** 10; **729.** 18.
ἀμετάστρεπτος **705.** 62.
ἀμισθί **729.** 9.
ἄμμα **669.** 29.
ἀμοιβή **705.** 61.
ἄμπελος **707.** 23, 36; **729.** 18.
ἀμπελών **707.** 19; **729.** 33, 35.
ἀμφισβήτησις **745.** 9.
ἄμφοδον **714.** 26. Cf. Index V (*d*).
ἀμφότερος **707.** 12; **715.** 2; **716.** 10; **728.** 1, 28.
ἀναβάλλειν **729.** 6, 28.
ἀνάβασις **742.** 6.
ἀναβολή **729.** 7; **741.** 13.
ἀνάγειν **707.** 23, 36.
ἀναγιγνώσκειν **706.** 5; **724.** 10; **743.** 18.
ἀναγκάζειν **717.** 2, 14.
ἀναγράφειν **730.** 7.
ἀνάκτησις **705.** 76.
ἀναλαμβάνειν **707.** 25, 35; **719.** 32; **721.** 5, 6, 7; **724.** 8.
ἀνάλωμα **740.** 28; **825**; **836.**
ἀνάπλους **709.** 3.
ἀναπομπή p. 262.
ἀνασκευάζειν **745.** 5.
ἀναφαιρέτως **713.** 19.
ἀνατολή **725.** 12.
ανει( ) **833.**
ἀνήρ **710.** 3; **719.** 24. κατ' ἄνδρα **709.** 11.
ἀνθομολογεῖν **743.** 34, 40.
ἄνθρωπος **705.** 16, 66; **805.**
ἀνιστάναι **707.** 25.
ἀνοικοδομεῖν **707.** 27.
ἀνόκνως **743.** 39.
ἀντίγραφον **719.** 3, 4, 9.
ἀντικνήμιον **722.** 34.
ἀντιποιεῖν **718.** 30.
ἀντισυμβολεῖν p. 263.
ἀντιτάσσειν **707.** 17, 38.
ἀντιφωνεῖν **805.**
ἀνύειν p. 262.
ἄνω **712.** 20; **721.** 19; **736.** 31; **744.** 8.
ἄνωθεν **718.** 21; **745.** 4.
ἄξιος **725.** 29–35.

ἀξιοῦν **658.** 16; **705.** 51, 60; **716.** 19; **719.** 32; **727.** 29; **805**; **826.**
ἀξίωσις **705.** 14, 64.
ἀπαιτεῖν **718.** 23, 29; **727.** 18; **803.**
ἀπαίτησις **718.** 14; **722.** 28.
ἀπαρτίζειν **724.** 12.
ἀπελεύθερος **706.** 2; **716.** 6, 29.
ἀπελευθεροῦν **706.** 8; **722.** 18.
ἀπεργασία **729.** 2, 8.
ἀπερίλυτος **713.** 39.
ἀπέρχεσθαι **709.** 4.
ἀπέχειν **719.** 22; **808.**
ἀπηλιώτης **719.** 17, 19; **728.** 7.
ἁπλοῦς **719.** 9.
ἀπογράφειν **713.** 34; **715.** 6, 36.
ἀπογραφή **715.** 30; **719.** 24; **808.**
ἀποδέχεσθαι **705.** 59.
ἀποδιδόναι **705.** 61; **718.** 18, 21; **728.** 18; **729.** 15, 19, 42, 43; **730.** 22; **744.** 16; **745.** 7; **746.** 3; **798**; **836.**
ἀπόδοσις **712.** 16; **729.** 17; **808.**
ἀποθνήσκειν **718.** 12.
ἄποικος **719.** 2, 9, 11.
ἀπολαμβάνειν **706.** 3.
ἀπολλύναι **743.** 23.
ἀπομετρεῖν **798.**
ἀποσπᾶν **724.** 13.
ἀποστέλλειν **742.** 3; **744.** 8.
ἀποστερητής **745.** 7.
ἀποστολή **736.** 13.
ἀπότακτος **729.** 31; **730.** 12.
ἀποτίνειν **730.** 26.
ἀποφαίνειν **706.** 6.
ἀργεῖν **724.** 14; **725.** 35, 40; **731.** 12.
ἀργυρικά **733.** 2; **734.** 3.
ἀργύριον. See Index VIII (*b*).
ἀργυροῦς **796.**
ἀρεσκία **729.** 24.
ἀριθμός **735.** 8; **742.** 8.
ἀριστερός **722.** 10; **723.** 5.
ἄριστον **736.** 23, 28, 35.
ἀρνακίς **741.** 6.
ἄρουρα. See Index VIII (*a*).
ἀρουρηδόν **729.** 31.
ἀρσενικός **741.** 8; **832.**
ἄρσενος (?) **744.** 9.
ἄρσις **708.** 5, 18.
ἀρτάβη. See Index VIII (*a*).
ἀρτίδιον **738.** 8.
ἄρτος **736.** 9 *et saep.*
ἀρχαῖος **729.** 7, 8.
ἀρχεῖον **712.** 13.
ἀρχιδικαστής. See Index VII.
ἀρχιερατεύειν **718.** 3.
ἀς **737.** 2 *et saep.*
ἀσθένεια **726.** 10.
ἀσθενεῖν **725.** 40.
ἀσπάζεσθαι **745.** 9; **805.**
ἀσπάραγος **736.** 36.
ἀσπορεῖν **740.** 42.
ἄσπορος **709.** 14.
ἀστικός **706.** 9.
ἄστρον **731.** 6.
ἀσυντέλεστος **707.** 30.
ἀσφαλῶς **742.** 5, 10.
ἀτακτεῖν **725.** 40.
ἄτοκος **729.** 16.
αὖ **718.** 19.
auctor **720.** 4.
αὐθεντικός **719.** 30, 33.
αὐτάρκης **729.** 19.
αὐταρκία **729.** 10.
αὐτόθεν **726.** 12.
αὐτόθι **719.** 22.
ἀφῆλιξ **716.** 7, 12, 20; **725.** 7; **727.** 16; **740.** 44, 45, 47.
ἀφιέναι **722.** 6; **744.** 10.
ἀφιστάναι **745.** 3.
ἄφορος **721.** 5.
ἄχρι **707.** 37.

βαδίζειν **743.** 29.
βάθος **669.** 8.
βάπτειν **736.** 6.
βασιλικός, βασ. (γῆ) **718.** 9, 15, 16, 19, 27; **721.** 4; **730.** 8; **810.** β. γραμματεύς. See Index VII. β. ξύλον **669.** 11, 19.
βατάνιον **739.** 9.
βάτελλα **741.** 18.
βεβαιοῦν **719.** 23; **730.** 21.
βεβαίως **713.** 18.
βῆμα **669.** 28, 37.
βίαιος **803.**
βιβλίδιον **716.** 18.
βιβλιοθήκη **719.** 35.
βιβλίον **826.**
βιβλιοφόρος **710.** 2.
βιβλιοφυλάκιον **825.**
βιβλιοφύλαξ. See Index VII.
βίος **826.**

βλάβος 729. 20.
βοᾶν 717. 9, 12, 13, 14.
βοηθός 734. 4; 743. 20.
βοικός 729. 39.
βούλεσθαι 705. 76; 719. 29; 721. 3; 729. 11.
βουλεύειν 706. 6.
βορρᾶς 719. 16, 18; 729. 7.
βοτάνη 729. 22.
βοῦς 707. 9; 729. 16.
βραχύς 705. 77.
βωλολογεῖν 708. 7, 19.
βῶλος 708. 8, 20.
βωμός 785.

capere 720. 15.
collega (?) 735. 14.
conducere 737. 2 *et saep.*
consul 720. 7.

γάλα 736. 48, 83.
γαμετός 795.
γάμος 713. 12, 32.
γείτων 719. 16.
γενεά 713. 16.
γενέσια 736. 56, 57.
γένημα 729. 36.
γένος 727. 20; 729. 31.
γέρδιος 725. 5; 736. 23, 27, 28, 35; 826.
γεύεσθαι 658. 12.
γεωμετρία 728. 9, 30.
γεωμετρικός 669. 1, 3, 18.
γεωργεῖν 718. 19, 23; 728. 4; 740. 38, 40.
γεωργός 740. 16, 21, 33, 35.
γῆ 705. 74; 707. 23, 36; 715. 22, 25; 718. 24; 730. 8, 17, 36; 810. Cf. βασιλικός and ἱερός. Γῆ 722. 6.
γίγνεσθαι 705. 18, 67; 707. 34; 709. 6; 712. 16; 716. 21; 718. 29; 719. 22, 30; 721. 6; 727. 1, 4; 729. 17, 18, 30; 732. 5, 9; 743. 20, 41; 745. 5; 807; 832.
γιγνώσκειν 743. 27; 744. 3.
γλυ( ) 734. 4.
γναφεύς 736. 37.
γνήσιος 740. 14.
γνώμη 729. 43.
γνωρίζειν 705. 39; 718. 20; p. 263.
γνωστήρ 722. 31; 723. 4.
γογγυλίς 736. 5.
γόμος 708. 3, 16.
γονεύς 713. 7, 38.
γονή 729. 40.
γόνυ 722. 24.
γράμμα 716. 32; 725. 64; 727. 28; 728. 34.
γραμματεύς. See Index VII.
γραμματικόν p. 263.
γράφειν 706. 3; 716. 31; 718. 24; 719. 6, 27; 724. 10; 725. 63; 728. 33; 729. 37; 743. 39; 746. 5; 787; 811.
γραφεῖον 736. 16; 808.
γυμνασιαρχεῖν 715. 1.
γυμνασίαρχος 716. 1.
γυμνός 839.
γυναικεῖος 739. 18; 741. 9.
γυνή 736. 11, 88, 89.
γυργαθός (γεργαθός) 741. 5.

δακτύλιον 795.
δάκτυλος 669. 14, 17, 26, 43.
δανείζειν 705. 47; 808; 836.
δανεισμός 799.
δαπανᾶν 705. 63.
δαπάνη 705. 79; 708. 12; 712. 6; 729. 28; 736. 98; 739. 3.
dare 720. 3, 6, 15.
δέησις 720. 10.
δεῖγμα 708. 5, 18.
δεῖν 718. 14, 18, 29; 727. 19, 20; 729. 4, 5, 16; 743. 8. δεῖσθαι 718. 24.
δειπνεῖν 736. 93.
δεῖπνον 736. 36; 738. 1, 4, 7.
δείση 729. 22.
δεκάδαρχος 747. 1.
δεκατ( ) 741. 17.
δεξιός 722. 24.
δέσμη 742. 4, 13.
δή 705. 61.
δηλοῦν 707. 21, 30; 708. 13; 714. 21; 716. 19; 725. 7, 11, 48; 740. 30; 800.
δημόσιος 669. 24; 707. 2, 15; 715. 37. (τὸ) δημ. 712. 6; 719. 28, 30; 725. 56; 729. 20; 793; 803. (τὰ) δημ. 707. 22; 718. 11 *et saep.*; 729. 33; 730. 17; 740. 14; 810. δημ. θέμα (?) 740. 29. δημ. μέτρον 740. 18, 20. δημ. ξύλον 669. 38. δημ. ὀφειλή 719. 23. δημ. πῆχυς 669. 34. δημ. ῥύμη 719. 17, 19. δημ. τράπεζα 721. 13; 835. δημ. χρηματισμός 712. 12.
δημοσιοῦν 719. 32.

δημοσίωσις 719. 31.
διαγράφειν 707. 22; 721. 12; 733. 2; 734. 2; 800; 803.
διαθήκη 715. 19.
διαίρεσις 718. 7, 10.
διαλογίζεσθαι 709. 4.
διαλογισμός 709. 2; 726. 12.
διαπέμπειν 727. 24.
διαπονεῖν 743. 22.
διαπωλεῖν 727. 20.
διάστασις 669. 37, 40.
διαστολή 719. 32; 743. 28; 793.
διατάσσειν 718. 25.
διατελεῖν 658. 8.
δίαυλον 669. 30.
διάφορον 708. 11, 22; 797; 833.
διαψεύδεσθαι 715. 30.
διάψιλος 707. 23.
διδάσκαλος 725. 10, 14, 43.
διδόναι 716. 22; 719. 4, 30; 725. 18; 729. 10, 13, 17; 731. 7, 10; 740. 15 *et saep.*; 742. 11; 743. 26, 28, 32; 789.
διέπειν 727. 5.
διέρχεσθαι 712. 18; 714. 18; 729. 26; 789.
διετία 707. 24.
διευτυχεῖν 718. 31.
δίκαιος 717. 10; 746. 9; 787.
δικαστήριον 705. 38.
δίκη 728. 24.
δίλετον 717. 5, 12.
δίμοιρος 716. 14, 20.
διό 727. 21; 826.
διοικεῖν 719. 26.
διπλοῦς 729. 20; 741. 3.
δισακκίδιον 741. 2.
δίστεγος 719. 15.
δοκεῖν 718. 24.
dominus 720. 3, 6.
δόσις 724. 7.
δούλη 714. 15; 722. 14; 723. 3.
δοῦλος 714. 13; 716. 15; 724. 3.
δραχμή. See Index VIII (*b*).
δραχμιαῖος 712. 14; 728. 21.
δρόμος 717. 17; p. 263.
δύνασθαι 726. 10; 727. 11; 742. 10; 743. 36; 744. 12.
δύσις 725. 12.
δωδεκάδραχμος 714. 22.
δωδεκάμηνον 800.
e 720. 5, 14.
ἐάν 729. 18.
ἐάνπερ 729. 4, 8.
ἔγγραπτος 707. 20.
ἐγγυητής 707. 33.
ἐγκαλεῖν 728. 40.
ἔγκτησις 705. 61; 712. 1; 715. 1; 825.
ἔδαφος 728. 15.
ἐθέλειν 705. 43, 62.
ἔθιμος 729. 7.
ἔθνος 705. 37.
ἔθος p. 263.
εἰδέναι 716. 32; 718. 12; 725. 64; 728. 34; 729. 37; 745. 6, 8.
εἶδος 669. 26; 719. 24.
εἰκός 718. 22.
εἷς, μιᾶς ἀντὶ μιᾶς 740. 17, 18.
εἰσάγειν 729. 5, 6.
εἰσβολή 736. 97.
εἰσιέναι 721. 8; 725. 30; 729. 2, 14, 30.
εἴσοδος 705. 39; 719. 16.
εἰσπορεύεσθαι 717. 5, 7; 744. 4.
εἰσφέρειν 717. 12.
εἰσχρῆσθαι 717. 2.
ἕκαστος 705. 35, 77; 711. 1; 725. 11; 727. 22; 728. 21; 729. 18, 29, 37.
ἑκάτερος 713. 31; 729. 19.
ἑκατοστή 708. 8, 9, 20.
ἐκβαίνειν 708. 7, 19; 729. 36.
ἐκβάλλειν 744. 10.
ἐκβοᾶν 717. 1.
ἐκδέχεσθαι 724. 12.
ἐκδιδάσκειν 725. 47.
ἐκδιδόναι 725. 5; 835.
ἔκκαιρος 729. 18.
ἐκκρούειν 725. 37.
ἐκλογή 729. 41.
ἐκμισθοῦν 727. 19.
ἔκτακτος 707. 4.
ἐκτίνειν 725. 55; 728. 19; 731. 12.
ἔκτισις 729. 21.
ἐκφόριον 743. 29.
ἔλαιον 736. 15; 739. 5, 11, 16, 21; 784.
ἐλάσσων 669. 44; 705. 46; 708. 7, 20; 729. 42.
ἐλεύθερος 705. 40; 722. 6.
ἐλευθεροῦν 716. 11.
ἐλευθέρωσις 722. 31; 723. 4.
ἐμβ(ολικός ?) 740. 18.
ἐμβάδευσις p. 263.

ἐμβάλλειν 708. 9, 21; 717. 1, 15.
ἐμμένειν 725. 55.
ἐμποιεῖν (?) 707. introd.
ἔμφορος 707. 10.
ἐνδεικνύναι 705. 32.
ἕνεκα 719. 31.
ἐνεχυρασία 712. 3, 10, 16, 19.
ἐνεχυροῦν 729. 44.
ἔνθεσμος 713. 39.
ἐνιαυτός 725. 17, 20, 23, 25, 52.
ἐνιστάναι 713. 40; 715. 7; 724. 4; 725. 28; 728. 16; 729. 14; 730. 4; 732. 2; 808; 826.
ἐνοικεῖν 705. 41.
ἐνοίκησις 729. 34.
ἐνοίκιον 729. 34.
ἐνοχλεῖν 705. 71.
ἔνοχος 715. 31.
ἐντολικός 741. 1.
ἐντός 724. 11, 13; 728. 15; 729. 20, 30.
ἐντυγχάνειν 717. 16.
ἐνώπιον 658. 9.
ἐξαπελευθεροῦν 722. 13, 17.
ἐξαετία 707. 4, 5.
ἐξασθενεῖν 705. 71.
ἐξεῖναι 705. 52; 722. 27; 724. 12; 725. 53; 727. 25; 729. 43.
ἐξενίαυτα 729. 15.
ἐξηγητεύειν 714. 6.
ἐξηγητής 727. 1, 5.
ἑξῆς 725. 8; 729. 26.
ἔξοδος 719. 16.
ἐξουσία 706. 8; 719. 25.
ἑορτή 725. 36.
ἑορτικός 724. 6.
ἐπάγειν, ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι. See Index III (*b*).
ἔπαθλον 705. 49.
ἐπακολουθεῖν 729. 29.
ἐπανάγκης 725. 42.
ἐπάναγκος 707. 6; 729. 18, 40.
ἐπάνω 707. 7; 740. 30.
ἐπεί 713. 20; 718. 22; 727. 25.
ἐπερώτησις 718. 13.
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό 713. 28; 716. 14; 729. 15.
ἐπιβάλλειν 715. 13, 15.
ἐπιγονή 730. 4.
ἐπιγραφή 719. 28.
ἐπιδέχεσθαι 810.
ἐπιδημεῖν 705. 36.
ἐπιδιδόναι 705. 60; 715. 29, 34; 716. 18, 28.
ἐπίδοσις 705. 59, 76.
ἐπιεικής 705. 42.
ἐπικαταβολή p. 263.
ἐπικεῖσθαι 729. 26.
ἐπικεφάλαιον 832.
ἐπικρατεῖν 718. 28.
ἐπικριτής 714. 5, 38.
ἐπιλανθάνειν 744. 12.
ἐπιμέλεια 719. 7; 727. 3.
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 727. 15; 729. 22; 743. 43; 744. 6; 745. 10; 746. 9; 805.
ἐπιμιμνήσκειν 791.
ἐπινίκια 705. 34.
ἐπινομή 730. 11; 810; 838.
ἐπιπέμπειν 743. 30.
ἐπίσημος 722. 19.
ἐπισκοπεῖν 743. 43.
ἐπίστασθαι 724. 3; 725. 50.
ἐπιστατεία 803.
ἐπιστάτης 790.
ἐπιστέλλειν 718. 25.
ἐπιστολή 746. 4.
ἐπιστολίδιον 789.
ἐπιστράτηγος. See Index VII.
ἐπιτάσσειν 725. 13.
ἐπιτελεῖν 719. 26; 726. 20; 727. 22–4; 729. 18.
ἐπιτηρητής 712. 1, 8.
ἐπίτιμον 725. 55; 729. 20.
ἐπιτροπεύειν 727. 15.
ἐπιτροπή 743. 32.
ἐπίτροπος 716. 7; 740. 42.
ἐποίκιον 707. 37; 729. 34; 838.
Ἑπτὰ νομοί 709. 7.
ἐργάζεσθαι 729. 19.
ἐργασία 742. 11.
ἐργατεία 800.
ἐργάτης 739. 13.
ἔργον 729. 29.
ἐρέβινθος 736. 92.
ἔριον 791.
ἔρχεσθαι 715. 9; 743. 24, 42; 805; 839.
ἐρωτᾶν 744. 6, 13; 745. 7; 746. 5; 787.
ἕτερος 705. 63; 712. 10; 714. 4; 718. 22; 719. 25; 725. 30; 726. 19; 729. 3, 4, 11, 26, 29.
ἔτι 658. 8; 705. 23, 34; 718. 21; 727. 18; 729. 3, 25, 44; 744. 3.
εὖ πράσσειν 822.
εὐδοκεῖν 707. 11; 725. 47, 62; 726. 22; 727. 26.

εὐεργέτης **705.** 17, 66.
εὐθαλεῖν **729.** 22.
εὐθέως **839.** εὐθύς **744.** 7.
εὐθυμετρικός **669.** 5.
εὐλόγως **718.** 28.
εὐμενής **705.** 15, 65.
εὔνοια **705.** 31.
εὑρίσκειν **717.** 5, 8; **743.** 25.
εὐσχήμων **800.**
εὐτυχεῖν **805.**
εὐχαριστεῖν **811.**
ἐφηβεύειν **711.** 4.
ἔφηβος **705.** 49.
ἐφόδιον **792.**
ἔφοδος **710.** 4.

ζεῦγος **707.** 9; **741.** 8, 9.
ζητεῖν **726.** 16; **805.**
ζυμουργός **754.**
ζῦτος **736.** 27, 60; **784.**

ἡγεμονεύειν **800.**
ἡγεμών. See Index VII.
ἥλιος **725.** 12. Ἥλιος **722.** 6.
ἡμέρα **705.** 35; **713.** 40; **724.** 14; **725.** 12, 37, 41, 43; **731.** 7, 11; **736.** 68–71, 90; **804.** ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμ. See Index III (*b*).
ἡμέτερος **787.** *al.*
ἡμιαρτάβιον **708.** 6.
ἡμιολία **728.** 20; **730.** 27; **833.**
ἡμίσεια **729.** 36.
ἡμισύνθεσις **741.** 15.
ἡμιωβέλιον. See Index VIII (*b*).
ἧπαρ **738.** 3.
ἤπητρα **736.** 10.
ἤτοι **669.** 8.

θελειν **717.** 2; **743.** 17, 27, 39; **745.** 8.
θέμα **740.** 21, 26, 29, 33, 49.
θεός. See Index VI (*a*).
θερινός **810.**
θηλυκός **832.**
θῆλυς **744.** 10.
θρίδαξ **738.** 6.
θρῖον (θρῦον) **736.** 9, 47.
θρύον **729.** 22.
θυγάτηρ **658.** 15; **736.** 14, 84.
θύειν **658.** 7, 11.
θύρα **729.** 23.
θυσία **658.** 2.

ἰδιόγραφος **719.** 27, 34.
ἴδιος **712.** 19; **715.** 6; **729.** 28; **807**; **836.**
ἰδιωτικός **715.** 37; **718.** 11, 27; **719.** 24. ἰδιωτικῶς **740.** 20, 28, 32.
ἱερατικός **707.** introd.
ἱερεύς. See Index VI (*b*).
ἱερόν **658.** 1, 22; **784**; **785.**
ἱερός, ἱερὰ (γῆ) **721.** 7.
ἱμάτιον **739.** 19.
ἵνα **709.** 2; **718.** 30; **742.** 6, 8; **743.** 37, 43; **744.** 13; **745.** 10; **746.** 10; **805.**
ἵππαρχος **790.**
ἱππεύς **735.** 8.
ἱππικός **741.** 11.
ἰσάτις **729.** 31.
Ἴσεια **731.** 5.
ἴσος **715.** 7; **722.** 13; **725.** 42, 56; **729.** 20, 43, 44; **789.**
ἱστάναι **709.** 2, 10; **725.** 46; **731.** 9.
item **735.** 12.
ἴτριον **736.** 50, 81.

καθά **705.** 47; **727.** 24.
καθάπερ **728.** 24.
καθαρός **708.** 5, 18; **718.** 9; **729.** 22; **736.** 17, 26, 49, 53, 78, 80; **740.** 29; **836.**
καθιστάναι **727.** 19; **836.**
καθότι **705.** 62.
καθώς **725.** 44, 50, 51.
καινός **707.** 7, 27; **729.** 12.
καιρός **729.** 5, 11, 19, 29.
καλαμεία **729.** 3, 22, 24–6.
κάλαμος **669.** 28, 41; **729.** 4, 25, 26; **742.** 2.
καλαμουργία **729.** 4.
Καλάνδαι **747.** 2. Kalendae **737.** 21.
καλεῖν **747.** 1.
καλός **705.** 40; **805.** καλῶς **745.** 8.
καμάρα **729.** 34.
καμηλίτης **710.** 4.
καρπός **721.** 7; **729.** 32; **730.** 19.
καρπωνεία **728.** 25.
καρπωνεῖν **728.** 1, 10, 29.
κάρυον **741.** 3.
καταβλάπτειν **715.** 37; **729.** 18.
κατάγειν **708.** 3, 16.
καταλείπειν **705.** 44, 74; **707.** 30; **729.** 20.
καταλογεῖον **719.** 3, 6.
καταλογή **787**; **811.**
καταμετρεῖν **669.** 11.
κατανθρωπισμός **736.** 11, 18, 54, 94.

καταντᾶν 713. 23.
κατασκευάζειν 725. 26.
κατασπορά 708. introd.
κατατιθέναι 705. 78; 707. 9.
καταχωρίζειν 714. 37; 715. 36; 719. 38; 731. 14; 786; 826.
κατέχειν 712. 3; 713. 15.
κατοικίζειν 705. 24.
κατοικικός 715. 23, 25.
κατοχή 713. 36.
κάτω 709. 8.
κελεύειν 658. 10; 705. 51; 706. 13; 708. 6, 19; 715. 9; 721. 13.
κέλλα 707. introd.
κελλάριον 741. 12.
κεράμιον 729. 36; 745. 1; 784.
κέραμος 729. 19.
κέρκιστρα 736. 77.
κεφάλαιον 808.
κηρός 736. 16.
κιθών (=χιτών) 736. 99.
κινδυνεύειν 705. 73; 839.
κίνδυνος 708. 10, 22; 712. 19; 715. 7, 36; 730. 16; 804.
κλαλίον 796.
κλείς 729. 23.
κληρονόμος 719. 16, 17.
κλῆρος 715. 22, 25; 721. 6; 728. 7; 730. 9; 794; 810. Cf. Index V (*c*).
κληρουχ( ) 833.
κοινός 719. 15; 729. 32; 740. 43. κοινῶς 715. 7; 729. 5, 6.
κόλλητρα 736. 91, 100.
κομεντάριον 724. 8.
κομίζειν 708. 14; 730. 20.
κόνιον 739. 7.
κοπή 729. 3; 810.
κοπρισμός 729. 10.
κόπρος 729. 10.
κόπτειν 728. 11.
κόριον 819.
κοσμητεύειν 724. 1.
κοτύλη 784.
κόφινος 739. 8.
κράζειν 717. 1, 9, 11, 13.
κράτιστος 726. 17.
κριθή 708. 8, 20.
κριθολογεῖν 708. 6, 19.
κριτήριον 719. 8; 727. 4.
κριτής 726. 20.
κτᾶσθαι 705. 70.
κτῆμα 707. 23, 25, 31; 729. 5 *et saep.*
κτῆνος 729. 16, 39–41, 43.
κτήτωρ 718. 14.
κυβερνήτης 717. 4.
κυριακὸς λόγος 800.
κυριεύειν 730. 19.
κύριος ('lord') 728. 15; 744. 2. Cf. Index II.
κύριος ('valid') 719. 26; 725. 56; 727. 26; 728. 25; 729. 14, 34; 730. 31; 731. 14; 838.
κώμη 705. 60, 69; and see Index V (*b*).
κωμογραμματεύς 718. 13, 20, 26.

λαμβάνειν 707. 26, 29; 724. 8, 9; 729. 17, 41; 743. 26; 744. 8.
λαμπρός 705. 19, 39, 68.
λανθάνειν 705. 30.
λάξος 806.
λαογραφεῖν 711. 3.
λαογραφία 714. 23; 733. 5.
λαογράφος 786.
λέγειν 706. 11; 707. 14; 717. 2; 744. 11.
λειτουργεῖν 705. 79; 731. 4.
λειτουργία 705. 72.
λειτουργός 792.
lex Iulia et Titia 720. 5, 14.
λήγειν 729. 17.
λῆμμα 825.
ληνός 729. 19.
λίνον 736. 75.
λινοϋφικός 669. 33.
λιχάς 669. 27, 31.
λίψ 719. 17, 19.
λογιστήριον 709. 1, 10.
λόγος 705. 30; 708. 13; 724. 10; 725. 36; 726. 14; 727. 23; 729. 13; 732. 5; 740. 30; 741. 1; 800; 825.
λοιπός 707. 24; 709. 8, 12; 713. 36; 716. 16; 724. 11; 725. 19; 729. 4 *et saep.*; 732. 13; 740. 32.
λύειν 715. 19; 745. 6; 808.
λύτρον 722. 30, 40; 784.
λυχνία 736. 91.
λωρῖκα 812.

μα( ) 736. 73.
magister 737. 12 *et saep.*
μάθησις 724. 3; 725. 7.
μαθητής 725. 15, 21, 27, 48.

μακροπρόσωπος **722.** 7, 16, 24, 33.
μαχαιροφόρος **839.**
μέγας **705.** 22.
μείζων **669.** 44; **717.** 9; **729.** 43.
μελίχρως **722.** 7, 9.
μεμβράς **788.**
μέμφεσθαι **706.** 12.
μὲν οὖν **705.** 36.
μένειν **744.** 5.
μερίζειν **713.** 29.
μέρος **707.** 7; **715.** 15, 16; **716.** 13–5, 20; **719.** 14; **722.** 13; **728.** 8; **729.** 19, 31; **740.** 46, 47; **810.**
μεσιτεύειν **669.** 45.
μέσος **722.** 7 *et saep.*; **729.** 28; **734.** 3.
μεταβάλλειν **728.** 13.
μεταδιδόναι **705.** 38; **712.** 16; **719.** 4.
μεταλλάσσειν **715.** 10.
μεταφέρειν **728.** 11.
μεταφορά **729.** 34.
μετρεῖν **669.** 6; **735.** 7; **740.** 24, 26, 35.
μέτρον. See Index VIII (*a*).
μέτωπον **722.** 8.
μέχρι **725.** 12; **729.** 7, 9; **731.** 3.
μῆκος **669.** 6, 7.
μηνιαῖος **725.** 51.
μήτηρ **658.** 4; **713.** 5, 9, 23, 36; **715.** 3, 12, 18; **716.** 3, 5, 9, 10; **719.** 2, 8, 10, 11; **722.** 11, 22, 32; **723.** 2; **726.** 6; **728.** 2, 3, 28; **733.** 5; **736.** 69; **740.** 44.
μηχανή **729.** 12, 23, 28.
μικρός **741.** 4.
μίλιον **669.** 30.
μισθός **724.** 5; **725.** 18 *et saep.*; **729.** 12; **731.** 8; **736.** 6.
μισθοῦν **707.** 14, 18; **729.** 3 *et saep.*; **730.** 1 *et saep.*; **810.**
μίσθωσις **707.** 17, 20, 24, 35; **729.** 14, 20, 34, 41; **730.** 21, 31, 39; **740.** 34; **838.**
μισθωτής **729.** 8; **825.**
μνᾶ **728.** 21.
μόναχος **719.** 32.
μόνος **707.** 22; **718.** 11; **729.** 8, 9.
μόσχος **729.** 16, 39.
μύρον **736.** 13, 84.

ναυαγεῖν **839.**
ναύβιον **669.** 11, 24.
ναῦλον **792.**
ne **720.** 12.
Νειλομετρικός **669.** 36.
νεομηνία **725.** 8.
νέος **707.** 17; **718.** 8; **729.** 19; **836.**
νεόφυτος **729.** 8.
νόμισμα **719.** 21; **722.** 25.
νόμος, τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ν. **706.** 7. *ἀστικοὶ ν.* **706.** 9. *τῆς χώρας ν.* **795.**
νομός, Ἑπτὰ νομοί **709.** 7.
νότινος **729.** 9.
νότος **719.** 14, 16, 18.
νῦν, τὰ νῦν **811.**

ξενία **747.** 1.
ξενικός **712.** 1, 8; **825.**
ξηρός **736.** 82.
ξυλαμᾶν **729.** 31; **730.** 10;
ξυλοκοπεῖν **706.** 13.
ξυλολογεία **729.** 33.
ξύλον **729.** 12. Cf. Index VIII (*a*).
ξυλοτομία **729.** 29.

ὀβολιαῖος **729.** 10.
ὀβολός. See Index VIII (*b*).
ὄγδοον **669.** 1, 2.
ὅθεν **714.** 21; **716.** 18.
οἰκία **712.** 5, 20; **715.** 15; **719.** 15.
οἰκογενής **714.** 14; **723.** 3.
οἰκοδομεῖν **707.** 7.
οἰκοδόμος **739.** 10, 12, 14.
οἰκονόμος **735.** 6.
οἰκοπεδικός **669.** 9.
οἰκόπεδον **718.** 9.
οἰνικός **729.** 36.
οἶνος **707.** 3; **729.** 16, 19, 24, 27; **745.** 1, 2; **784**; **788.**
ὀλίγος **718.** 23.
ὅλος **724.** 8; **730.** 14; **740.** 18. *ὅλως* **743.** 22; **744.** 4.
ὀμνύειν **714.** 27; **715.** 26.
ὅμοιος **705.** 61; **725.** 14. *ὁμοίως* **708.** 8; **709.** 6; **711.** 2; **725.** 23, 25, 31, 34; **729.** 9; **736.** 51, 71, 80; **740.** 33.
ὁμολογεῖν **719.** 12; **725.** 1; **726.** 4; **735**; **803**; **808**; **831**; **833.**
ὁμολόγημα **725.** 57, 62.
ὁμολογία **726.** 23; **731.** 13.
ὁμοπάτριος **716.** 16.
ὀνηλάτης **740.** 19, 22, 25.
ὀνικός **741.** 10.
ὄνομα **715.** 10.

ὄνος **729.** 9.
ὀξύβαφον **741.** 20.
ὅπου **728.** 11.
ὀπτίων **735.** 5.
ὀπτός **707.** 28.
ὀπώρα **729.** 11.
ὀπωροφύλαξ **729.** 11.
ὅπως **718.** 12.
ὀργυιά **669.** 28, 39.
ὁρίζειν **705.** 48; **707.** 28; **719.** 31; **728.** 18, 36.
ὅρκος **715.** 31.
ὄρνις **738.** 9.
ὅρος **729.** 7, 9.
ὅσος **724.** 13; **729.** 25.
ὅσπερ **729.** 6, 40.
ὁστισοῦν **719.** 25.
ὄστρεον **738.** 5.
ὅτε **736.** 36, 92.
ὅτι **717.** 2, 13; **743.** 28; **744.** 11; **745.** 8; **811**; **812.**
οὐικάριος **735.** 6.
οὐλή **722.** 8, 16, 24, 34; **723.** 5.
οὕτως **706.** 6; **707.** 32; **743.** 35.
ὀφείλειν **712.** 11; **732.** 4.
ὀφειλή **719.** 24.
ὀχομένιον **729.** 31.
ὀψάριον **736.** 52, 62.
ὄψον **736.** 61.
ὀψώνιον **729.** 11; **731.** 10; **744.** 7.

πα( ) **797.**
παίγνιον **736.** 59.
παιδάριον **730.** 14; **736.** 38.
παιδίον **736.** 39; **744.** 7.
παῖς **724.** 8, 10, 13; **725.** 18, 36; **736.** 16 *et saep.*
πακτωνίτης **814.**
παλαιστής. See Index VIII (*a*).
πάλιν **742.** 9; **745.** 5.
πάμπολυς **718.** 11.
παναριθμός **742.** 3.
πανηγυρίζειν **705.** 35.
παντοῖος **727.** 28.
παραβαίνειν **725.** 53, 54.
παραγίγνεσθαι **743.** 23; **798.**
παραδεικνύναι **721.** 12.
παράδειξις **712.** 2.
παραδίδοναι **716.** 22; **729.** 22, 44; **742.** 7, 9.
παράθεσις **713.** 35.
παρακαλεῖν **744.** 6.
παραλαμβάνειν **717.** 6; **729.** 16, 23; **742.** 2, 4; **785.**
παράληψις **798.**
παραλογισμός **711.** 5.
παραμένειν **724.** 13; **725.** 43.
παραμονή **731.** 13.
παραπολλύναι **705.** 73.
παρατιθέναι **713.** 1.
παράφερνα **796**; **837.**
παραφυλακή **705.** 72.
παραχωρεῖν **719.** 12, 25.
παραχωρητικόν **719.** 20.
παρεῖναι **711.** 2; **727.** 11, 25.
παρεμβολή **736.** 33.
παρέξ **729.** 33.
παρέχειν **717.** 4; **725.** 9, 42; **729.** 4, 9, 19; **785.**
παρη( ) **788.**
παριέναι, παρειμένη **713.** 26.
πατήρ **713.** 20; **715.** 11; **784.**
πατρικός **716.** 15.
πάτρων **706.** 2, 10.
πατρῷος **715.** 28.
pedes **735.** 12.
πεδίον **740.** 37.
πεζός **724.** 10; **831.**
πέμπειν **729.** 11.
πεμπταῖος **729.** 24.
πενταετής **725.** 49.
πεντώβολον. See Index VIII (*b*).
περιβάλλειν **707.** 32.
περίδειπνον **736.** 37.
περιέχειν **719.** 31.
περισπᾶν **705.** 53; **743.** 36.
περιστερά **729.** 10; **736.** 29, 79.
πῆχυς. See Index VIII (*a*).
πιάζειν **812.**
πιπράσκειν **719.** 12; **740.** 30; **784**; **819.**
πίστις **705.** 32; **727.** 21.
πλακάς **729.** 28.
πλαστός **729.** 30.
πλατεῖα **733.** 3.
πλάτης **707.** 26, 32.
πλάτος **669.** 7, 8.
πλέθρον **669.** 29.
πλεῖν **726.** 11.
πλεῖστα **742.** 1; **744.** 1; **746.** 2.
πλείων **705.** 30; **712.** 18; **725.** 39; **833.**
πλήν **721.** 7; **729.** 23.

πλίνθος 707. 28.
πλοῖον 799; 805.
πλοῦς 727. 11.
ποιεῖν 705. 77; 707. 29; 709. 3; 713. 11; 718. 10, 14; 722. 28, 36; 725. 13, 44; 726. 14; 727. 11; 729. 7, 24, 29, 37; 743. 40; 745. 8; 787; 811.
πόλεμος 705. 33.
πόλις (= Alexandria) 727. 2. (= Oxyrhynchus) 658. 2, 6; 705. 22, 39, 43; 714. 7; 732. 2; 736. 31. Cf. Index V (*a*).
πολιτάρχης 745. 4.
πορεῖον 792.
πόρθμειος 732. 4.
πορθμίς 732. 2.
πορίζειν 719. 2.
πορφύρα 739. 16.
πόσος 742. 4.
ποταμός 800.
ποτέ 745. 7.
ποτήριον 741. 17.
ποτίζειν p. 263.
ποτισμός 729. 13, 24.
πούς 669. 27, 32, 38; 722. 16; 723. 5.
πρᾶγμα 706. 4; 743. 19.
πραγματεία 806.
πραγματευτής 825.
πραγμάτιον 746. 6.
πρακτορεία 712. 1, 8; 825.
πρακτορικός 712. 21.
πράκτωρ 733. 2; 734. 3.
πρᾶξις 712. 11; 728. 22; 729. 21; 730. 27.
πράσον 736. 28.
πράσσειν 708. 10, 21; 718. 25; 822.
πράτης 718. 12.
πριάσθαι 718. 5, 17.
πρόβατον 807.
προγράφειν 713. 29; 715. 34; 727. 12; 728. 14; 732. 7, 10; 786.
προθεσμία 724. 12; 728. 18.
προιέναι 719. 9.
προκεῖσθαι 713. 33, 37; 715. 30; 724. 12; 725. 44, 51, 54, 62; 727. 22; 728. 32, 40; 729. 18, 37, 42; 732. 8, 11, 14; 735. 8; 740. 23, 25; 819.
προκήρυξις 716. 20.
προποιεῖν 707. 16.
προσβαίνειν 714. 16.
προσγίγνεσθαι 784.
προσδεῖσθαι 743. 33.
προσεδρεύειν 725. 10.
προσεῖναι 705. 31.
προσέρχεσθαι 787.
προσμετρεῖν 708. 12.
πρόσοδος 705. 78.
προσοφείλειν 730. 25.
προστιθέναι 706. 12; 708. 12.
προσφάγιον 736. 46, 89; 739. 7, 10, 12, 14.
προσφέρειν 795.
προσφωνεῖν 718. 15, 26, 28.
πρότερος 705. 48. πρότερον 715. 16.
προφέρειν 746. 6.
προχείριον 741. 14.
προχρεία 729. 13; 800.
πρόχρησις 729. 17.
πρωτοπραξία 712. 6.
πρῶτος, πρῶτοι ἀριθμοί 735. 8.
πτέρυξ 738. 10.
πυγών 669. 27, 34.
πυκνός 717. 16. πυκνότερον 805.
πυρός 708. 4 *et saep.*; 718. 15; 735. 9; 736. 8 *et saep.*; 740. 28, 31, 32, 40; 784; 789; 833; 836.
πωλεῖν 729. 43.
πωμάριον 707. 19, 26.
πῶς 744. 12; 745. 6.

quo 720. 12.

ῥαφίς 736. 75.
ῥήτωρ 707. 13.
ῥόα 736. 58.
ῥοδών 729. 32.
rogare 720. 3.
ῥύμη 719. 17, 19.
ῥωννύναι, ἔρρωσο 719. 5; 742. 15; 743. 44; 745. 10; 746. 11; 798; 805.

σανδάλιον 741. 10.
σεμίδαλις 736. 82.
σημαίνειν 833.
σημειογράφος 724. 2.
σημεῖον 724. 3.
σημειοῦν, σεσημείωμαι 713. 43; 719. 6.
semis 737. 11 *et saep.*
σιδυτός 738. 9.
σιτικός 718. 8; 798.
σίτινος 729. 44.
σιτολογικός 740. 17, 22, 27.
σιτολόγος. See Index VII.

σιτομετρικόν 740. 23, 25.
σιτοπόητρα 739. 4.
σῖτος 708. 11, 22.
σκαφή 729. 28.
σκέπη 785.
σκουτλίον 741. 19.
σόλιον 741. 8.
σπείρειν 729. 31.
σπένδειν 658. 7, 11.
σπέρμα 740. 36; 833.
σπιθαμή 669. 27, 32.
σπονδή 730. 12.
σπουδάζειν 746. 8.
στάδιον 669. 29.
στεγάζειν 729. 23.
στερεός 669. 7; 836.
στέφανος 736. 56, 57.
στήμων 739. 18.
στολή 839.
στοχάζεσθαι 705. 75.
στρατηγός. See Index VII.
συ( ) 734. 4; 797.
συγγράφειν 707. 35; 729. 17.
συγγραφή 713. 12, 32, 38.
συγκαταχωρίζειν 719. 34.
συγχρηματίζειν 727. 21.
συγχωρεῖν 727. 9.
συγχώρησις 727. 14, 26.
συκάμινος 661. introd.
συλλέγειν 743. 31.
συμβάλλειν 717. 4.
συμμαχεῖν 705. 33.
σύμμετρος 669. 44.
συμπλήρωσις 729. 42.
συμπροσγίγνεσθαι 743. 33.
σύμφυτος 707. 10; 729. 22.
συμφωνεῖν 719. 20; 724. 5; 728. 37; 729. 32.
συνάγειν 705. 48; 708. 11, 22; 833.
συναγορασμός 791.
συνανάμιγος 718. 16, 19, 27.
συνεδρεύειν 717. 8, 11.
συνεπιδιδόναι 716. 28, 30.
συνηγορεῖν 707. 14.
συνιστάναι 715. 35; 724. 2; 726. 12; 727. 12, 25; 787.
σύνταξις 729. 12.
συντιμᾶν 729. 42.
συντίμησις 729. 16, 17, 40–2.
συντυγχάνειν 743. 37.
συνωνή 705. 77.
σύστασις 726. 21.
σφόδρα 705. 71.
σφυρίς 741. 3.
σχοινίον 669. 1, 3, 18.
σχοινισμός 797.
σώζειν 705. 23.
σωτήρ 705. 7, 66.

τάλαντον. See Index VIII (*b*).
ταμεῖον 705. 72, 73.
τὰ νῦν 811.
ταριχεία 736. 5.
τάσσειν 722. 20; 729. 17.
ταφή 736. 13, 84.
ταχύς 743. 21.
τέκνον 713. 19; 716. 8.
τεκτονικός 669. 35; 729. 12.
τέκτων 729. 12; 739. 15.
τελεῖν 707. 22, 24.
τέλειος 707. 31; 729. 39, 40.
τελευτᾶν 713. 20.
τελευτή 713. 18.
τέλος 712. 6, 21; 724. 9; 788.
τελωνεῖν p. 263.
τελώνης 732. 2.
τέμενος 785.
τετάρτη 795.
τετράγωνος 669. 21.
τετραετία 707. 21.
τετραχοίνικος 836.
τετρώβολον. See Index VIII (*b*).
τέχνη 725. 8, 49.
textor 737. 3 *et saep.*
τιθέναι 725. 61; 742. 5; 745. 2.
τίκτειν 744. 9.
τιμᾶν 705. 36.
τιμή 719. 20; 728. 38; 739. 3, 16, 21 784; 798.
τισάνη 736. 51.
τόκος 705. 49; 712. 6, 14, 21; 728. 20; 799.
τοπαρχία 734. 3; 808. Cf. Index V (*a*).
τοπογραμματεύς 833.
τόπος 705. 73; 707. introd.; 715. 16; 721. 12; 734. 3; 742. 5; 833.
τοσοῦτος 717. 1.
τράπεζα, δημοσία τρ. 721. 13; 835. Ἀσκληπιάδου τρ. 806.
τρέφειν 725. 15, 45; 729. 40.

τρίβανον **661**. introd.
τριετία **729**. 4, 5, 10.
τριλάγυνος **741**. 12.
τρισκαιδεκαετής **714**. 17.
τριώβολον. See Index VIII (*b*).
τρόπος **800**.
τροφή **705**. 78.
τροχός **707**. 7, 27, 29; **729**. 32.
τυρός **729**. 10.
τύχη **715**. 27.

ὑγεία **715**. 29.
ὑγιαίνειν **743**. 43; **745**. 10; **746**. 2; **805**.
ὑγιής **729**. 23; p. 263.
ὕδρευμα p. 263.
ὑδροπάροχος **729**. 13, 16.
ὑδροφυλακεῖν **729**. 23.
ὑδροφυλακία **729**. 7.
ὕδωρ **738**. 9.
ὑελοῦς **741**. 15.
ὑική **733**. 4, 6.
υἱός **658**. 13; **705**. 70; **724**. 3; **727**. 5.
ὕπαρξις **707**. 15.
ὑπάρχειν **712**. 5; **716**. 12; **718**. 16; **719**. 13; **722**. 12; **723**. 3; **727**. 13; **728**. 23; **729**. 21; **730**. 30.
ὑπηρέτης **712**. 17.
ὑπισχνεῖσθαι **745**. 4.
ὑποδεικνύναι **743**. 38.
ὑποδόχιον **729**. 28.
ὑπολείπειν **729**. 6, 25.
ὑπολογεῖν p. 263.
ὑπολογίζειν **729**. 13.
ὑπόλογος **721**. 4.
ὑπόμνημα **719**. 4, 35.
ὑποσημειοῦν **658**. 16.
ὕστερον **718**. 11.
ὑφηγεῖσθαι **743**. 42.
ὕψος **669**. 8.

φάγρος p. 264.
φαίνειν **708**. 5, 18; **718**. 30; **746**. 8; **811**; **826**.
φαινόλης **736**. 4, 10, 77.
φάσις **805**.
φερνή **795**; **837**.
φιλάνθρωπος **705**. 21, 69, 75.
φιλία **705**. 32; **743**. 21.
φίλος **706**. 6; **724**. 2; **742**. 8, 9; **745**. 9.
φόρετρον **740**. 19, 22, 25, 27.
φορικός **807**.
φόρος **707**. 3, 21, 24; **727**. 18; **728**. 31; **729**. 31, 32; **730**. 12, 20, 23; **732**. 4.
φροντίζειν **727**. 15.
φροντιστής **727**. 14.
φυλακίτης **803**.
φύλαξ **729**. 11; **803**.
φυλάσσειν **705**. 47, 62; **729**. 11; **804**.
φυτόν **729**. 20, 22.

χαίρειν **705**. 7, 20, 58, 68; **708**. 2, 15; **716**. 2; **719**. 4, 12; **724**. 2; **728**. 37; **732**. 4; **735**. 7; **742**. 1; **744**. 1; **746**. 2.
χαλκίον **736**. 6, 100.
χαλκός **722**. 26; **743**. 23.
χαλκοῦς **717**. 8, 10.
χάρις **705**. 63. χάριν **743**. 29; **804**.
χείρ **669**. 40.
χειριστής **734**. 2.
χειρο( ) **799**.
χειρογραφία **719**. 33.
χειρόγραφον **706**. 4, 5; **719**. 9, 30, 33; **745**. 2.
χερσάμπελος **729**. 30.
χέρσος **740**. 46.
χι( ) **739**. 3.
χιλίαρχος **708**. 13.
χιραλέος **661**. introd.
χιτών **725**. 29–34; (κιθών) **736**. 99.
χοῖνιξ **740**. 18 *et saep.*; **789**.
χορηγεῖν **725**. 20, 39, 50; **833**.
χόρτος **705**. 78; **728**. 8, 38; **730**. 10; **810**.
χοῦς ('mound') **729**. 6.
χοῦς (measure). See Index VIII (*a*).
χρεία **729**. 4, 8, 17; **731**. 7; **745**. 6.
χρῆμα **705**. 52.
χρηματίζειν **710**. 1; **727**. 8; **728**. 1.
χρηματισμός **712**. 10; **719**. 3; **835**.
χρηματιστής **719**. 7; **727**. 3.
χρῆσθαι **745**. 6.
χρήσιμος **705**. 75.
χρόνος **707**. 11; **712**. 18; **714**. 38; **718**. 11; **719**. 13; **724**. 4, 9, 11, 13; **725**. 9, 11, 38, 49; **728**. 35; **729**. 17 *et saep.*; **732**. 11; **786**.
χρυσοῦς **795**.
χρυσοχόος **806**.
χῶμα **729**. 7, 8, 9, 23; **740**. 46 (?).
χώρα **709**. 8; **795**.
χωρεῖν **705**. 40.

χωρίον **705.** 70.
χωρίς **719.** 27; **724.** 6; **725.** 45; **729.** 30, 31, 34.

ψεύδεσθαι **714.** 31.
ψήκτρα **741.** 7.
ψιλός **707.** introd.; **715.** 16.

ὧδε **736.** 92.
ὠνεῖσθαι **721.** 3.
ὠνή **732.** 2.
ᾠόν **784.**
ὥρα **747.** 3; **804.**
ὡρογράφος **710.** 3.
ὥστε **729.** 31; **730.** 10; **743.** 27.

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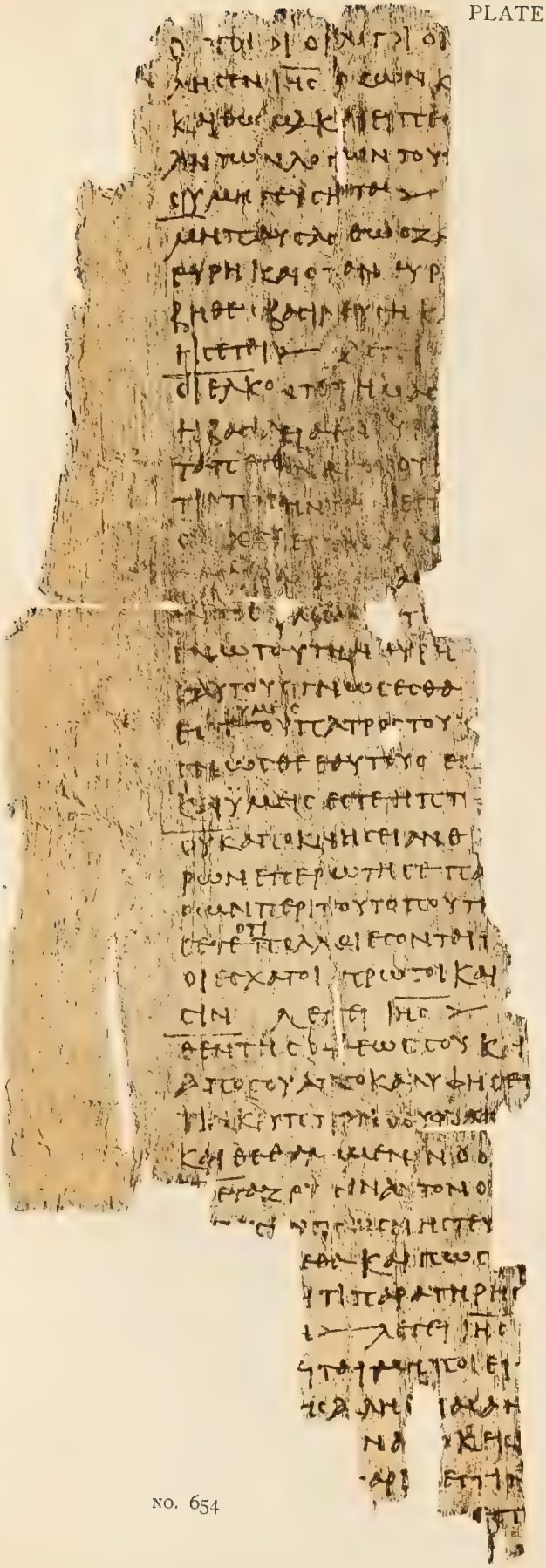

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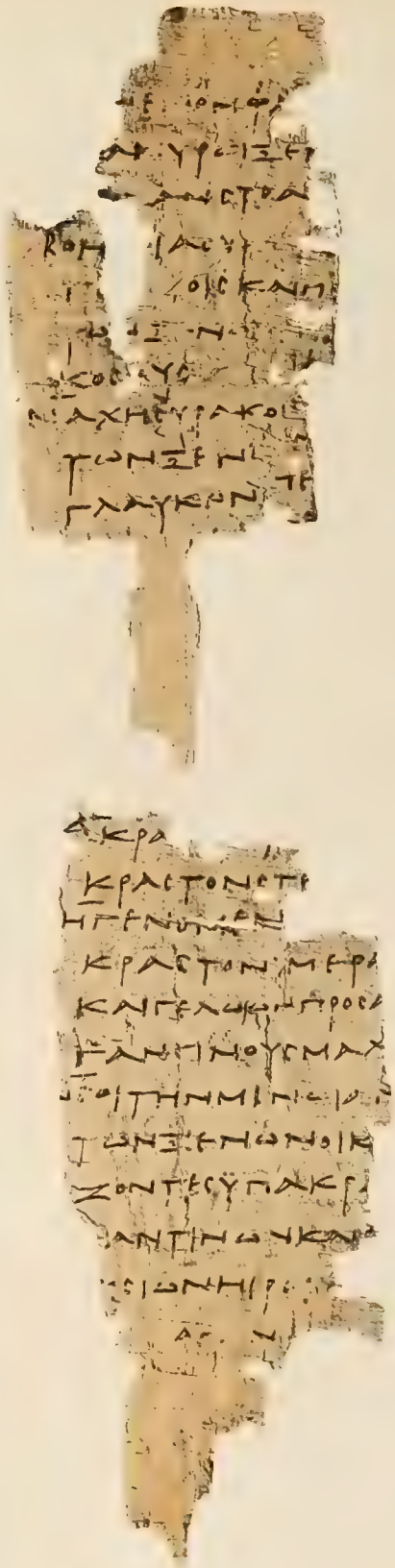

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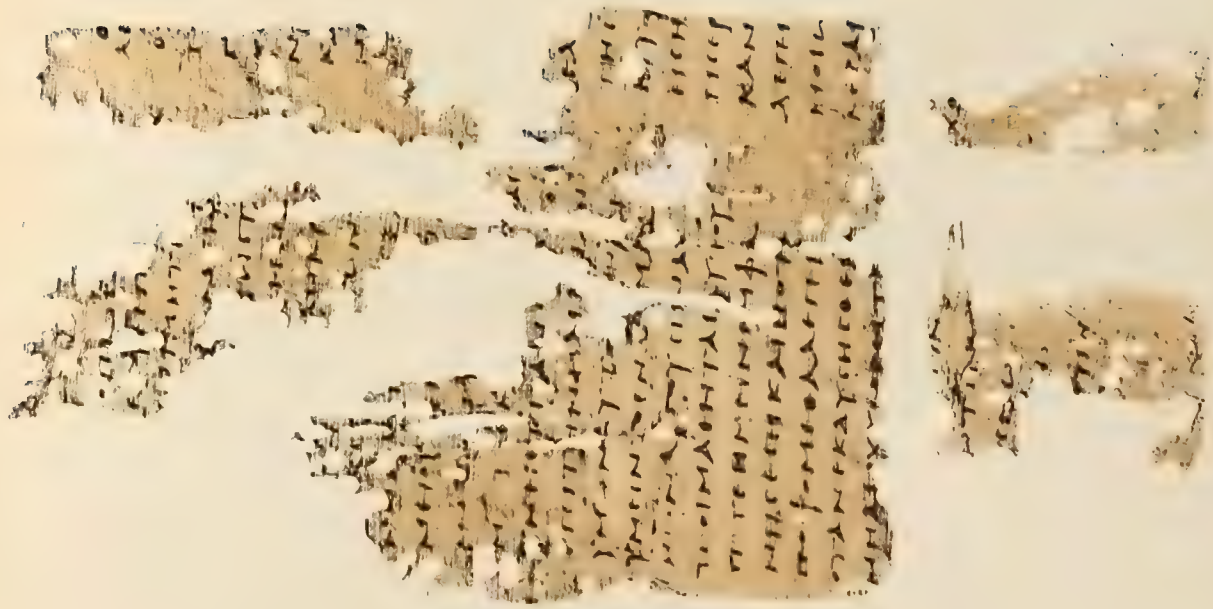

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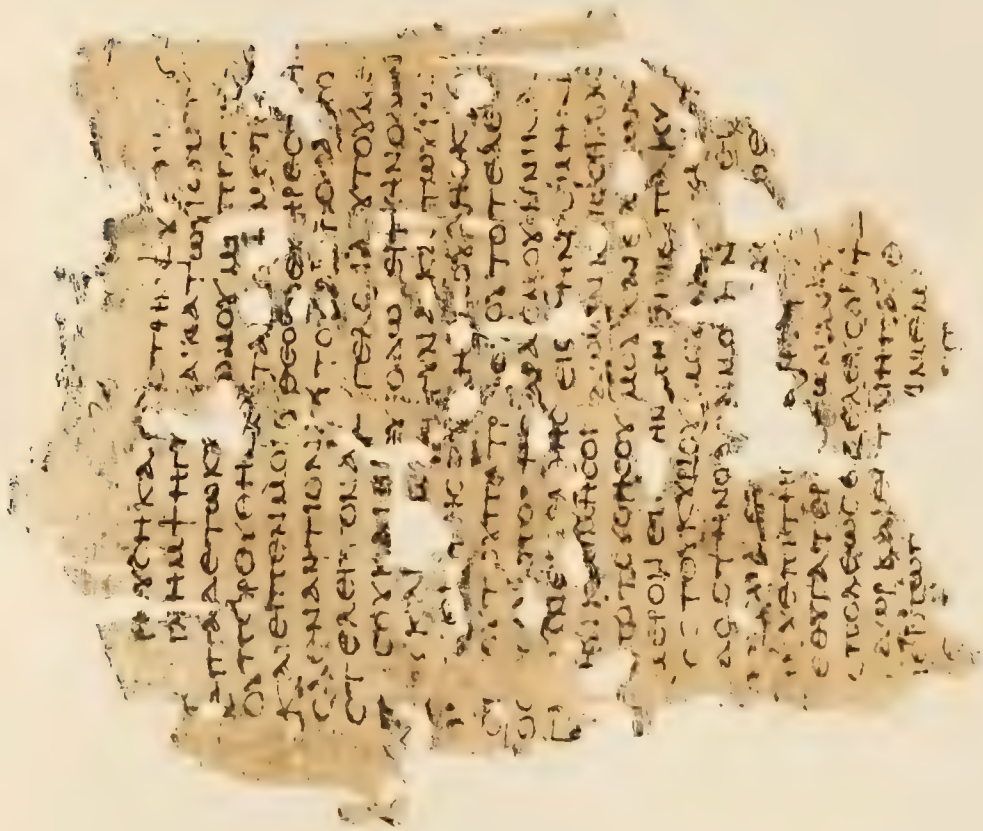

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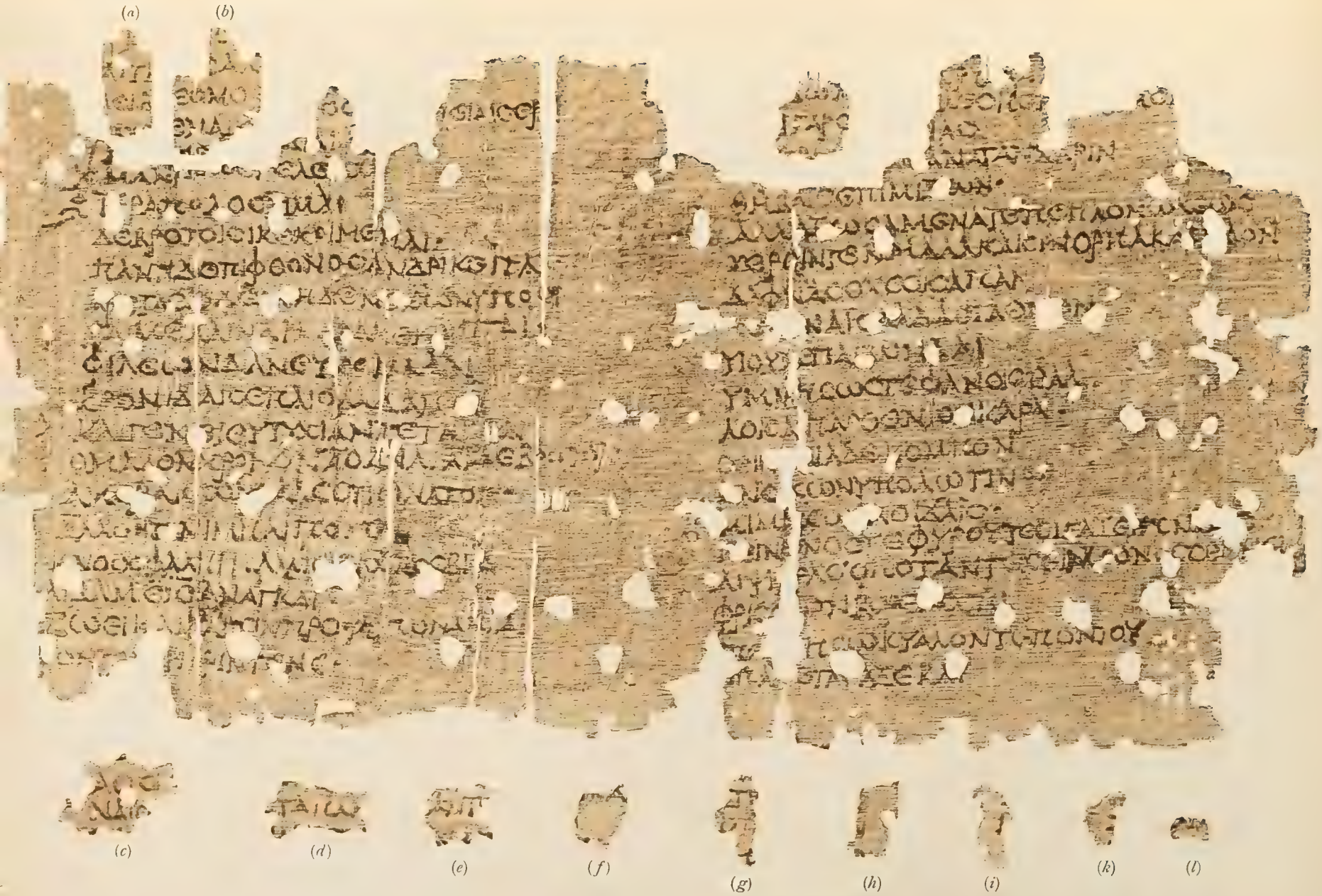

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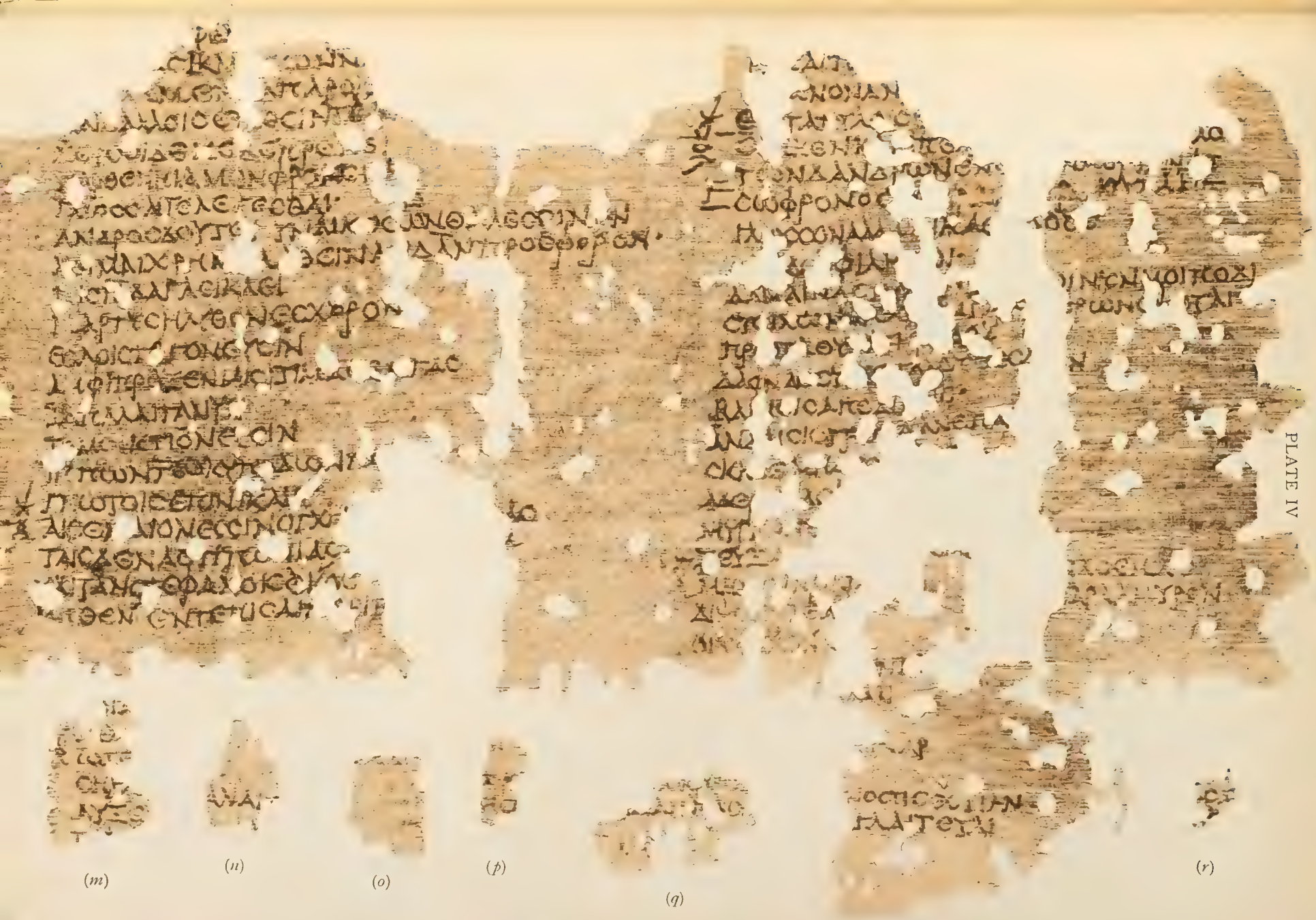

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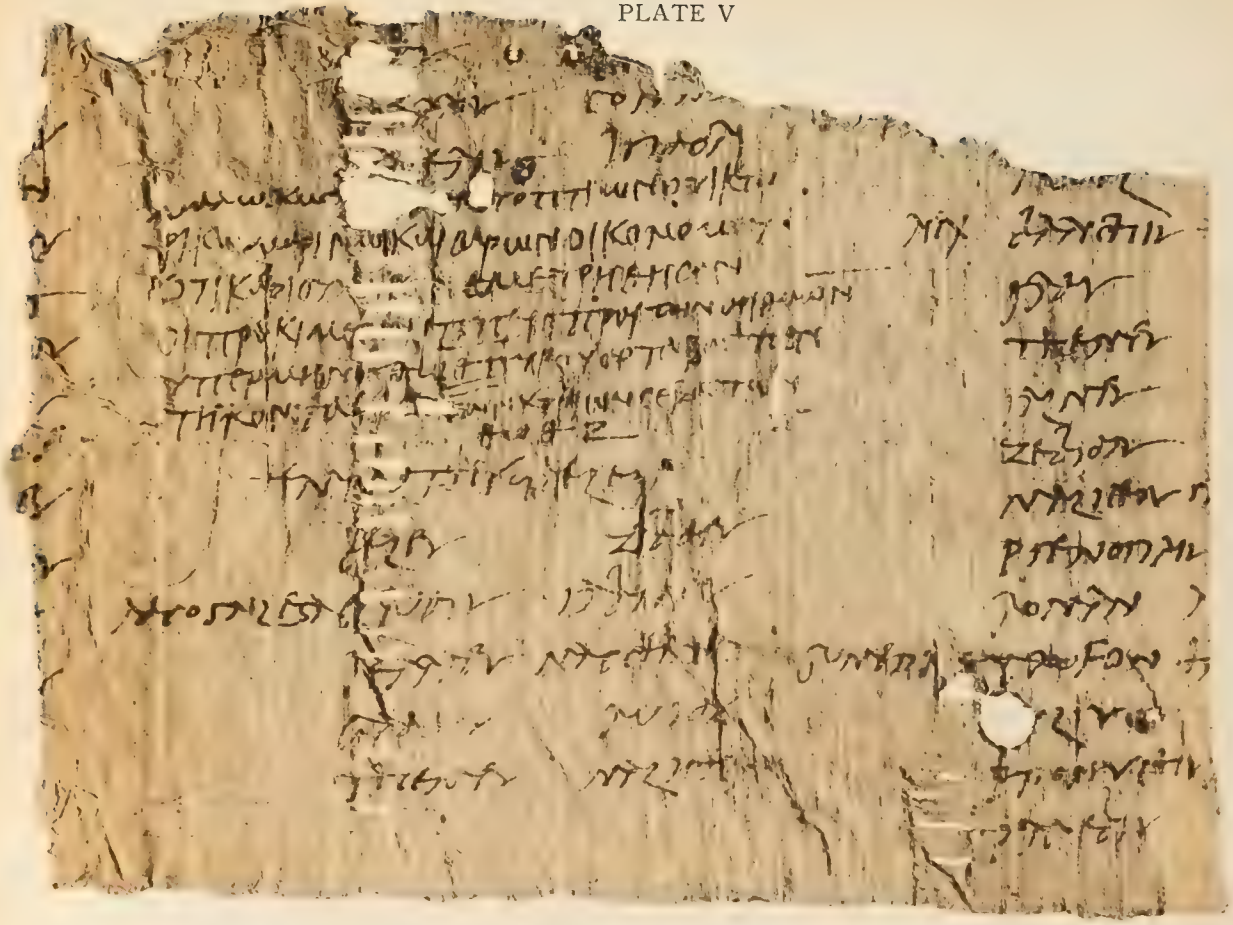

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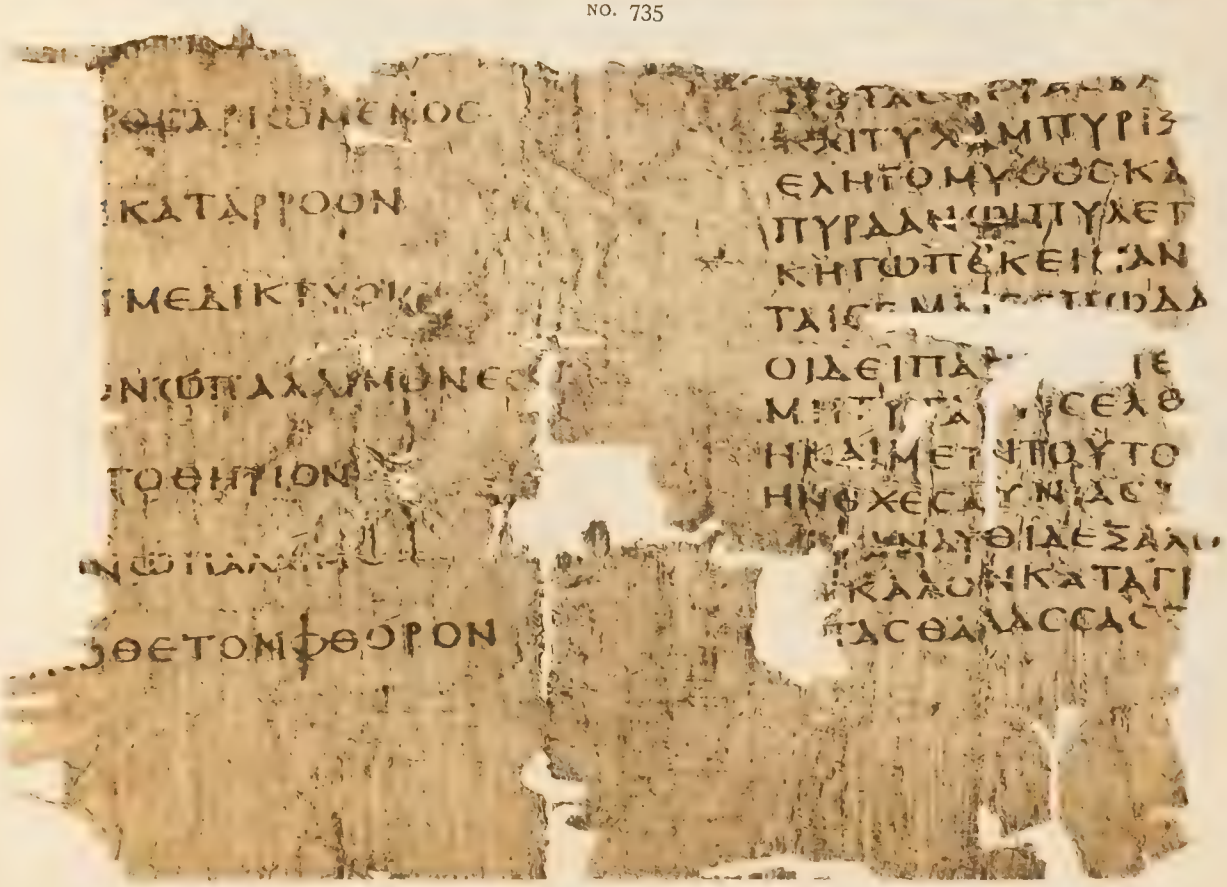

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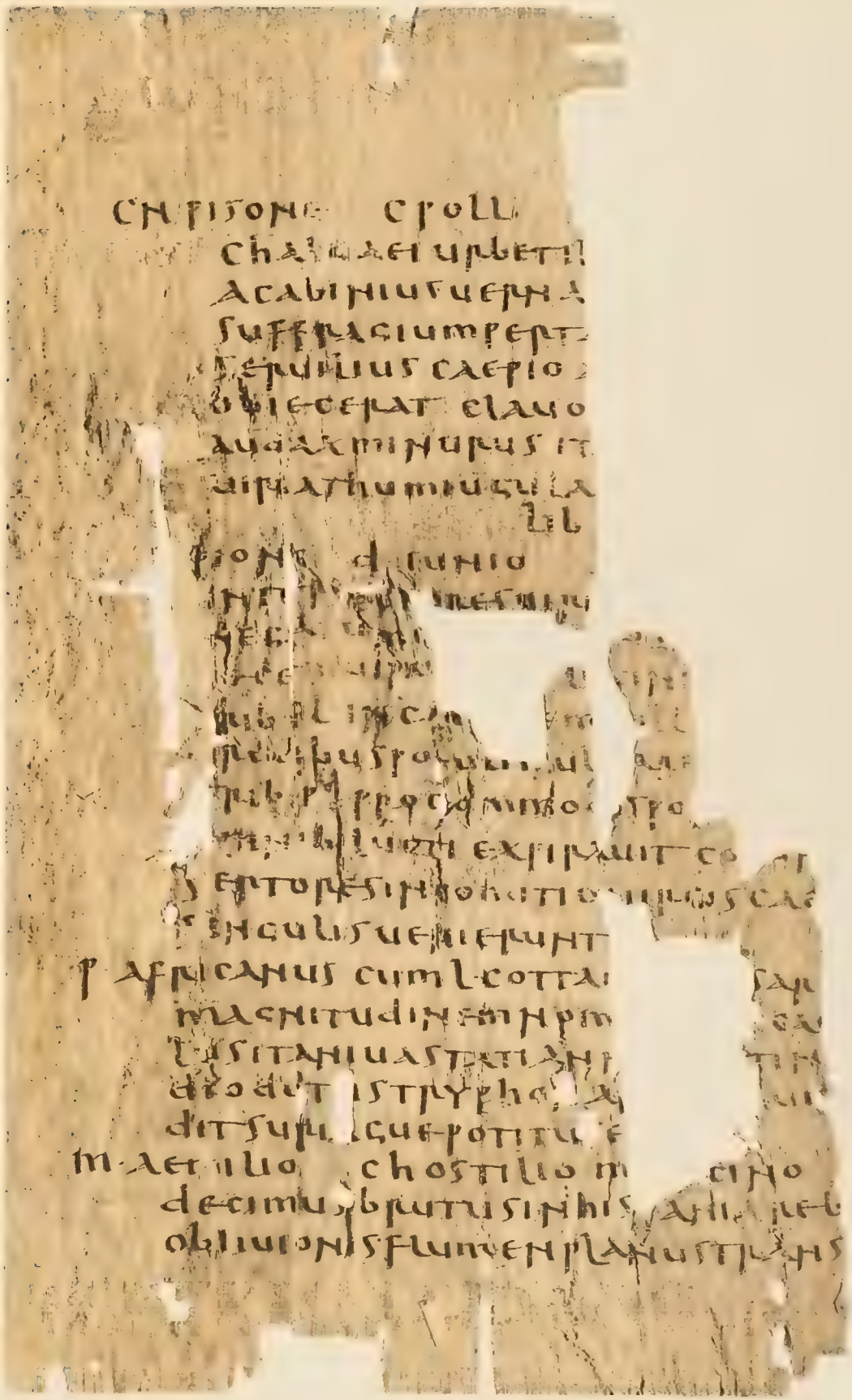
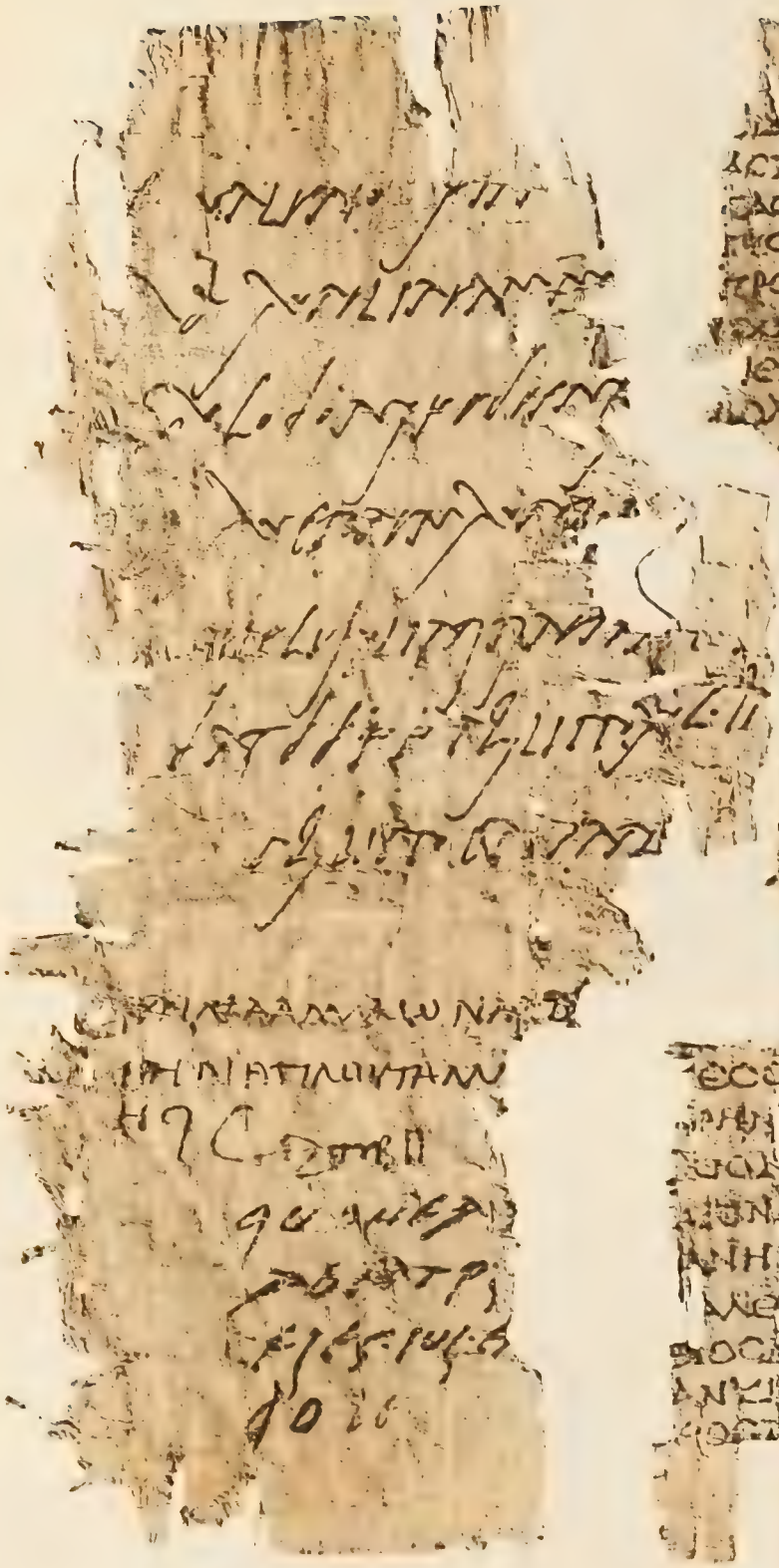


NO. 668, COL. viii



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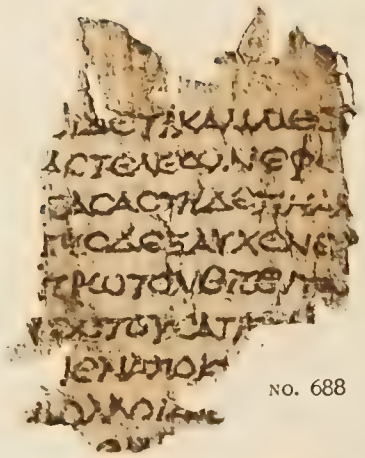

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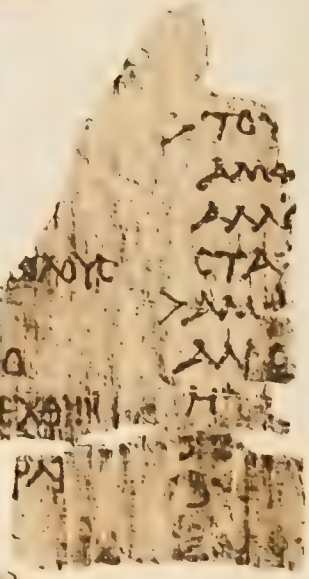

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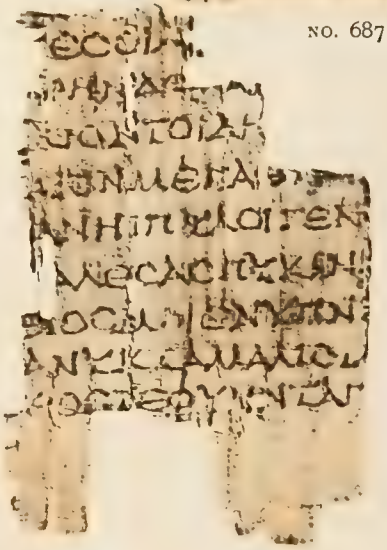

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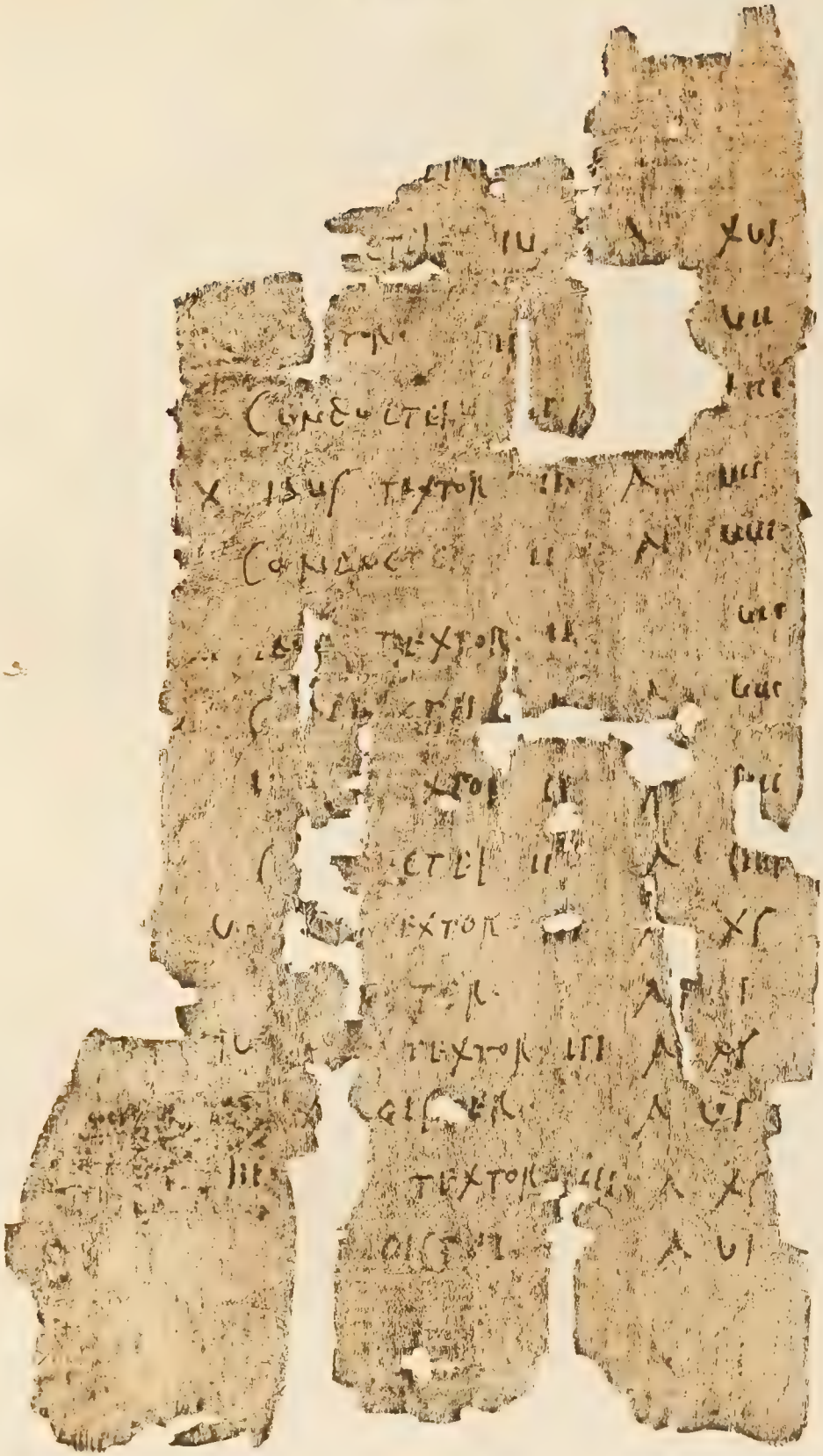

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